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# Contemporary Review

April 1960

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## AN INDEPENDENT NIGERIA

**T**WENTY-FIVE million Nigerians, living on 373,000 square miles, have reached political independence which will mean a further step from a primitive tribalism to another type of civilization based on urbanism, commerce, and industry. It will remain a black man's country, free from racial stress. There are less than 5,000 white persons, more than half Government officials, while hundreds of languages and dialects are spoken by the many Nigerian tribes who use more than 2,000 miles of railway to travel the country. From Nigeria came many of the African soldiers who fought in the 1939-1945 war, and the presence of British troops in Nigeria during the war encouraged the ideal of Independence. The war helped to end colonialism and taught Nigerians to sponsor new values, new ways, and new hopes. Independence furthers the transition from tribalism and breaks down old ways of living. An independent nation will be compelled to keep a progressive place for further development and industries will be organized, commerce encouraged, Westernism will be further absorbed, while internal problems of wages, labour and working conditions will be created in a new structure.

Urbanization affects the three main Nigerian tribes, all of which seek to retain their own social customs, and perhaps religious beliefs, and all three are departing from primitive ideas. The Hausa peoples of the North with nearly four million are the strongest, and the Northern Prime Minister, Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, and his Northern People's Congress, secured ten seats in the coalition which followed the recent elections. The Ibo peoples are the next largest, with over three million people, and the Yoruba a close third. There are other tribes of less importance and all were under British rule while Native Administrations assisted in the administration of finance, justice, and social services. Nigerians have long been learning to do things for themselves, they have sought new markets for their goods and wanted to establish a system of education. Health measures have been encouraged to overcome prevalent diseases, but shortage of money has hindered many measures. If only £50 were spent on sanitation in each village, where intestinal infection causes great suffering, it would mean a million pounds expenditure for the whole country. One doctor serves 160,000, and about a score of dentists try to fight dental decay. There is one hospital bed for every 3,700 of the population. There is also the problem of education, and an independent nation needs literate people. Illiteracy is rated at about 90 per cent of the population. Out of Nigeria's 25 millions about eight millions are under 16 years old, but only 660,000 of these are in schools. Education costs about 11 shillings each on average but if all children were given a minimum education the cost would be about seven million pounds, 30 times the amount now spent. Tribes with

wide differences in culture, in outlook, and even political consciousness, face common problems in Independence.

As Nigerians seek to make a nation, members of different tribes are brought together in trade and industry as they migrate to centres where work will be offered. Migration dominates the desire to earn money, and it appears that an Independent Nigeria will become a money-dominated society based on Western economy. Financial independence among the people means further impact on traditional ways and a re-interpretation of many old customs and, perhaps, a fulfilment of some ideals once sponsored by missionaries. Life for many Nigerians as the country progresses will be still further away from tribalism, and that leads to other considerations. The Nigerian away from his tribe tends to make lawless unions with non-tribal women, and soon, in contrast with tribal marriage regulations, the right to choose is exercised. Life in industrial areas, and at great distances from home, frequently leads to crime. The number of men migrating in search of work cheapens labour, unless strong union rules are applied, but even the wages from cheap labour can upset tribal economy. An independent nation has to struggle, through its people, to keep a place among other nations by entry into world markets of goods produced through urbanization. It is also to be said that contact with urbanization encourages a desire for education, breeds a class consciousness, and sets new standards of family life. Wealth tends to become centred in the hands of a rising middle class.

On the domestic side the question of marriage is involved in Independence. In Nigeria, four types of marriage are found: Christian, Civil, Mohammedan, and Traditional, and to these may be added, as urbanization spreads, the illicit union which could be termed concubinage. In tribal times parents arranged marriages for their children, mostly controlled by the Bride Price, but in urban areas a sexual freedom has led to young people making their own choice of partners not from permitted tribes. In tribal times a de-flowered girl was a dishonoured girl, despite the permission of limited intercourse, but in the wider urbanization there is a freedom that allows delinquency, and the loss of virginity is not a bar to marriage. Severe punishment could follow unmarried pregnancy in tribal times, both for the girl and the boy, but pre-marital pregnancy does not seem to matter in urban areas. Some tribal rites have continued for centuries: purification and initiation ceremonies as tests of fortitude; the tribal instructions in traditions, use of charms and fetishes, and religion; and the ordeals tribesmen underwent to prove their worth and integrity. Their strong bonds of brotherhood are not easily fitted into the ideals of an independent nation. The work of over a century, done by missionaries of many churches, finds implementation in the achievement of Independence.

The declaration of Independence in Nigeria does not mean the end of the nation that has blossomed under British Rule; it only means the beginning of a further stage of national consciousness, the realization of a new environment less dominated by magic and malevolent spirits and for which the people have been prepared under British Rule. New concepts of political freedom and communal life have opened. In Independence the



nation has yet to attain a state of independent thinking, it has to achieve universal literacy, that such considerations as the use of the franchise, ownership of land, race relationships, the use of money, may be better understood. Independency involves a further swing from tribalism to urbanization, the creation of greater numbers of wage earners, and of new ways of living. While former customs are left behind one bond is likely to remain, the kinship with Britain; for neither Independence, or change of political party in power, can obliterate the influences that have guided Nigeria to this nationhood. The debt to the Christian Church will also remain. A Report of the Commission of Higher Education in West Africa said: "When one looks for the root from which West African education sprang, one comes back, everywhere and always, to the missionaries. It was the Christian missions who first came out to the coast without desire for fee or reward. It was the congregations in Britain and America who provided the first development funds; the pennies of poor people, expended without reckoning of capital or interest. It was the churches in both their African and European membership who first made Africanization a working creed, and produced the first, and still by far the greatest, large-scale African organization on the Western model." This statement is assurance of a bond that ties Nigeria in its Independence to the people of this land.

FREDERICK PILKINGTON

### CAN WHITE AFRICA ADJUST ITSELF?

THE visit to Africa of Mr. Harold Macmillan has given him a chance to understand Africa better from African soil, which was prospectively beneficial all round. It gave to people and to régimes in Africa, black and white, a chance to see themselves and their problems on a bigger canvas. They were made at last to understand that they were an integral part of the East-West issue; indeed Africa would be the "divided middle" if conflict there were to be, and an objective in any preparatory stages. Mr. Macmillan had hard things to say, both in the old black colonies of Ghana and Nigeria, and in the older Commonwealth units of Rhodesia and the Union, controlled by whites. He wishes to see both endure by tolerance and co-operation outside and from within Africa towards its administration and progress and its place in contemporary world affairs. Suddenly Africa has become part of the world.

The Mission was one of enquiry and suggestion; of learning and commenting upon tactfully, from a wider standpoint. The peoples of Ghana and Nigeria received encouragement, conditional on a pursuit of responsible action and of loyalty to the Commonwealth. The whites of the Federation and Union were urged to give quite special attention to non-white advancement, held out to be the price of white survival, which the visitor desired to see assured. Your views and ours differ, he told Parliamentarians at Capetown; but you must meet your problems as seems best to you, as we must also meet ours. If, however, conflict over *Apartheid* occurs with the world against you, we shall no longer be able to support you, blindly, as in the past; and this doctrine is so disliked that, should you become a

republic, you should certainly not regard your continuance in the Commonwealth as automatically assured.

All this was excellent as a *mise-au-point* and nobody doubted the deep impression it created generally. The difficulty lies in adapting promptly to the new situation, even with the will to do so. People in South Africa are very conscious of the pitfalls that Union, 60 years ago brought about by their fathers, has reserved for them as members of an evolved white society. Federation is likewise leading to "headaches". This makes folk sceptical about autonomy in black states and of proposals or suggestions to bring about full multi-racialism quickly, with a freed labour market, to be followed by a much wider franchise. Those who know the black African from daily contact are well aware of the limitations of his unevolved personality which have nothing to do with his latent talents, at least at his present anthropological stage; and they know that he does best under a form of Guards discipline, which he adores, more than under any other dispensation. This makes them wonder whether libertarian forms imported from Europe, evolved there only through centuries, are suitable for people still near to the barbaric and, even if they are, in principle, whether they can be successfully implemented quickly (it is always this question of the hurry which imperils). They wonder, therefore, whether, at least on the material side, the black African will not be much worse off under his own control, and whether the urgent need of human advancement in Africa, for the good of its peoples, does not demand outside intervention in the form of authority, not just advisership. Human advancement can be brought about only if material progress is considerable, which would depend on cohesion deriving from law and justice and confidence. If we accept, as we should, that the non-white is not qualitatively inferior to the white, the fact of the former's anthropological backwardness is undisputed and, from it, flow many consequences that do not disappear under magical influence, deriving from elections, widened franchise and "abolished" colour bars.

So, in Africa, it is asked, do the British understand all these things or are they evading reality by readily handing over Africa? Or is it that they see no practical alternative, as Mr. Macmillan implied, to abdicating, whatever might be the consequences—to Africa, if not subjected to new outside influences, or to Africa if new forces seek to win the exclusive co-operation of the peoples of Africa? One thing they feel to be certain is that if Africa were to fall a prey to the East, a method of authority would soon replace that of liberty, simply because it would be more effective—as witness its use, not only by the old chiefs in orderly form, but by *evolués* who have come to power under pretences of "democracy".

All this is probably seen as irrelevant in London. For Western Powers, external to Africa (as they were when working the old Colonialism and such ruthless commercialism as was represented by the Congo Basin Treaties), it is easier to work diplomatically than administratively. They believe that it will be simpler for them to preserve their influence in Africa, thus protecting Western interest, if they have no direct responsibility for territorial government. This is, in contemporary circumstances, increasingly

difficult to carry through, if the men were available for it, which they are not. In this course, the Union is most cordially invited to follow, and the Federation is called upon to do so if Dominion status is to be secured. The whites of Africa are asked to participate in the diplomatic game, so new to them, as part of the West, by co-operating with black authority elsewhere; and, in order to be acceptable in that task, to bring about change within their white African states in favour of their non-white populations.

This brings us to the crux of the matter for white Africa. Should there be a spirit of co-operation at high level, and can white Africa accept and apply, quickly enough, the changes that diplomacy outside might seek to press upon it, or would such speed have inadmissible economic and psychological implications? Will the people resist and bring upon themselves trouble from within, as well as from without, as passions in Africa get more and more stirred, often quite irresponsibly? Or will the people cede—though conscious that such a course may not be desirable in itself, internally in a white state—for cultural or economic reasons? Will white Africa realize that unity is strength and that charity begins at home? This could be demonstrated by a joining of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia to hold better their own in the play of diplomacy, especially in the matter of securing attachment of the High Commission Territories, Bechuanaland being in part claimed anyhow by Rhodesia.

Doubt there can scarcely be that steps must be taken to remove misunderstandings, paving the way for skilful diplomatic action. We need a holiday from press vituperation from the United Kingdom in particular and a softening of racial prejudice in white Africa, with far less explosive talk along such lines as "keeping the Kaffir in his place". People outside repeat the word *Apartheid* as if it meant anything in administrative practice, and not merely as a party political slogan that won three elections, but was never applied nor was it ever likely to be.

South Africa has always had *Apartheid* in the sense that the races composing the country's population are so different that, psychologically and practically speaking, their social and cultural, and hence residential, existences have been self-contained, and must largely remain so. Some have got very "hot under the collar" because non-whites may not attend some white churches, but the plain fact is that they prefer their own, and have no desire for social mixing whatever. But the country has never lacked co-operation of the races at work, nor is it ever likely to do so, even with a tardiness in removing the colour bar which, anyhow, can be done only gradually if standards of living of whites are not to be undermined and quality of work performance threatened. At the same time the introduction of key men as immigrants would be a big advantage in increasing production and cost efficiency, partly through a more effective use of non-white labour, of great benefit in terms of real income per head all round.

This then, Mr. Macmillan, is reality south of the Zambesi. If, therefore, you are asking the whites in that region to direct their thought and action towards a growingly effective multi-racialism, in which restrictionism should

disappear more rapidly than at present and consultation should be introduced as a precursor of a wider franchise, you should provide for people outside Africa to understand that they know only as much about Africa as is dangerous, so that their opinion offers no contribution. Unless a state of better mutual understanding grows, despite a harlot press, the whites may truly lose their home in Africa; but capitalists outside will lose their money and manufacturers their raws, and diplomats the safety of the Cape route on which they may want to depend. It is the white intervention in Nyasaland from Salisbury that has given the country some tarred roads and other blessings, and it is upon white enterprise that that territory's external trade depends. Were white control to disappear from the Union, grass would soon grow in the streets of Johannesburg. The whites, as the electorate, will not sign their own death warrant, even if not to do so will lead to their throats being cut. The position is delicate and rendered hard to handle in the prevailing emotional atmosphere in and concerning Africa; but the Boers can be counted on to exercise stern authority in an emergency. The great thing is to get them to see that change imposes itself.

EDWARD F. JEAL

South Africa.

### EFFICIENCY IN COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION

IN the course of a long life and with considerable experience abroad I have come to the conclusion that the Englishman owes his superiority and his reputation as an efficient administrator to the fact that he has a greater capacity than other people for revealing the defects and for exposing the faults of his fellows. There are many checks, however, in this country which modify the expression of this aspect of our character. Its full flowering, unrestrained by external pressure, is found in a Crown Colony, where the inhabitants are living and working for the most part in a subordinate capacity. This means that we neither tolerate inefficiency nor slackness in any field of service; we demand that everything must be ship-shape and Bristol fashion. In other words, we not only have the determination to reach this goal but in a Crown Colony the authority to do so. When Sun Yat Sen addressed the students of Hong King University 36 years ago, he bore witness to this British quality: "More than 30 years ago I was studying in Hong Kong which impressed me a great deal because there was orderly calm and because there was artistic work being done without interruption. I went to my home in Heung Shan twice a year and immediately noticed the difference. There was disorder instead of order, insecurity instead of security. When I arrived home I had to be my own policeman and my own protector . . . I compared Heung Shan with Hong Kong and although they are only 50 miles apart the difference

in government oppressed me very much. I began to wonder how it was that Englishmen could do such things as they had done for example with the barren rock of Hong Kong within 70 or 80 years while in four thousand years China had no place like Hong Kong . . . Immediately after I graduated, I saw it was necessary to give up my profession of healing men, and take up my part to cure the country. That is the answer to the question: where did I get my revolutionary ideas from? It was entirely in Hong Kong. My fellow students, you and I have studied in this English colony and in an English university. We must learn by English examples. We must carry this English example of good government to every part of China."

Did this characteristic of our behaviour come down to us from the Roman administrators in Britain? They certainly had this feature in their make-up and showed it in their legal codes, in the administration of justice and in their general efficiency in military matters. Perhaps in our culture it comes from early training, when we emphasize and develop the competitive aspect of our nature, in order to satisfy the self-assertive instinct. It is true, of course, that we teach children in groups, of the same age, encourage them to join the Brownies, or the Scouts as members of which they must wear uniforms and march in step, and thus we gratify their gregarious instinct. We soon, however, reach the stage when we take part in competitive games, where we have two sides, each striving to overcome the opponent, as in football, cricket, tennis, hockey, boxing and many others. An important element in these games is the players' ability to find the weak spots in their opponent's armour, and then profit by that knowledge. If we lose a game it is because the members of the opposite side have been more successful in detecting our weaknesses—perhaps because they are more numerous—than we have in finding theirs. This applies also to school debates, the object of which is to teach pupils to argue; that is for each side to reveal the faults, logical and factual, in the arguments of the other side and then to answer them. Such activities are an important means of developing the reasoning powers and making the individual quick to detect the faults, in other walks of life. We become critical of the people and places and seek to establish the higher standards which the removal of the faults would bring about. We are in fact a fault-finding people, never acquiescent but always on the alert to catch the other person out and then establish our own point of view.

Bernard Shaw emphasized the importance of the critical mind when he said that university students listened to what their lecturers had to say, but never contradicted them. Such education he asserted stereotyped the mind, and did not stimulate it. Mencius the Chinese philosopher expressed the same thought many centuries before Shaw: "Tsui is of no assistance to me, he agrees with everything I say." This passion for efficiency and truth is dependent on thrashing the matter out, thus eliminating the faults so revealed, and then reaching a satisfactory conclusion. Nations are not equally enthusiastic about efficiency in speech or work. *Dolce far niente* is not a motto which describes an efficient people. In the Far East this very important element of opposition and contradiction is avoided in the

interest of harmony and friendship. Often have I seen four Chinese students on a properly laid out tennis court but in the course of the afternoon never playing a game, apparently in accordance with the golden rule, which is negative in form in their part of the world. "Do not do unto others what you do not wish them to do to you." They neither wished to inflict defeat nor suffer it. 'Face' is important and respect for it indicates consideration for others and also refinement of manner. English students could not be on such a court without saying at once: "Let's get started." The doctrine of 'face' is not in their scheme of life.

In a Crown Colony we can give rein to our passion for efficiency because cheap labour is always available, and we can exercise that authority which demands action after the defects and faults have been indicated. The danger of such a situation is that it increases the self-importance of the administrator and this, as Sir John Latham has recently pointed out, may become almost a pathological condition. The official thus elevated into this position of colonial importance is somewhat like a tree with outspreading branches which dominates the landscape, while beneath it nothing flourishes except things that crawl. The motive that prompts individuals to behave in this way is in part, at least, due to ambition in the first place, as indicated by Milton, who makes Satan say that it is better to reign in hell than serve in heaven. Such a position of authority without the checks that prevail at home may be regarded as a dangerous occupation, which must lead to megalomania in varying degrees.

The counteracting forces to correct this tendency towards excessive self-importance are found in the observance of the moral principles found in the Christian religion, whose doctrine encourages us to withdraw apart into a desert place and rest awhile in order to meditate, examine ourselves, and thus become self-critical. Modern life, however, hardly allows us time for that. I was impressed some years ago when I met one of my former Chinese students, who was doing post-graduate work in Edinburgh, and asked him how his work was progressing and how he liked student life in the university. He liked his studies and the conditions generally, but he said he was too frequently being asked to join this society and that, and found so many rules and regulations to obey, that he felt he did not belong to himself. Modern inventions such as radio, the cinema, television, the aeroplane, cater for and increase our tendency towards extroversion, and this means we have less and less time for reflection, and thus to become aware of our own defects. In effect we say: "I thank Thee Lord I am not as other men are" when we are associated with the inhabitants of the more backward countries. In patronizing our subordinates while in a position of authority we seek, perhaps unconsciously, to increase our own importance and raise our status. Let us leave it at that.

LANCELOT FORSTER

Oxford.



## THE ECONOMIC FUTURE OF THE CANADIAN FAR NORTH

**D**URING the past few years in Canada and the United States there has been a great increase of interest in the economic possibilities and the future of the Northwest Territories of Canada, a vast area of tundra, barren land and rocky hills and plateaux intersected by many rivers and lakes which extends westwards from the western shore of the Hudson Bay to the basin of the Mackenzie River and the Yukon Territory. This empire which is larger than several European countries combined was long regarded by most Canadians as a complete economic liability, and it is only within the past decade that any attempt has been made to take an inventory of its natural resources.

Until recently the canoe and the dog team were almost the sole means of transport and the fur trade the sole means of livelihood for the tiny and scattered settlements of Indians and the Eskimos, who constituted the only population of this immense territory. But the coming of commercial aviation has wrought a spectacular and rapid change in this whole situation since today it is possible to reach remote and isolated settlements in the Arctic Archipelago and the Northwest Territories in a few hours' flying time from Montreal or Winnipeg or New York City. Today commercial air services extend northwards from Edmonton to the new mining communities on Great Slave Lake and Great Bear Lake and up the valley of the Mackenzie River to the mouth on the Arctic as well as to the Coppermine River region which is located further to the east. The advent of the plane has made possible a vast widening of the knowledge of the geographical and geological features of this region. And, with the aid of the plane, some spectacular mineral discoveries have been made in the Northwest Territories which have become so well known that there is no need to discuss them in detail here.

The most publicized discovery of this type has been of course the rich uranium deposits on the north shore of Great Bear Lake. These reserves have assumed immense international importance during the past 15 years in connection with the atomic research and energy programmes of the American, British and Canadian Governments. Then during the decade of the 1930's almost equally rich gold deposits were discovered on the north shore of Great Slave Lake. The mines in the Yellowknife area here have become among the leading gold producers in Canada. And the development of the mining communities both on Great Bear Lake and Great Slave Lake has been almost entirely dependent on the plane. More recently great deposits of copper and lead have been brought to light in the Pine Point areas on the south shore of Great Slave Lake. Other reserves of copper have been long known to exist in the Coppermine River region on the west shore of Hudson Bay, and deposits of high grade nickel, copper and platinum have been located in the Rankin Lake district also on the west coast of Hudson Bay and these are also being worked today. The geological features of only a small region of the Northwest



Territories have thus far been adequately mapped and charted and there is no doubt that this region of northern Canada is on the eve of a great period of mining development.

But even more significant for the economic future of this section of the Canadian North has been the discovery during the past five years that the great belt of oil and natural gas fields of Northern British Columbia and Alberta extends northwards into the region of the Great Slave Lake and the Mackenzie River Basin, and that the Islands of the Canadian Arctic Archipelago may also contain very large petroleum reserves. During the past two years some of the larger Canadian and American oil companies have been spending millions of dollars in extensive exploration and survey work mostly by plane and helicopter both in the Mackenzie River Basin and in the Islands of the Arctic Archipelago.

The oil reserves of the Northwest Territories were first revealed during the Second World War with the development of the Canoil Project by which oil from the Norman Wells district near the Mackenzie River was piped across the mountains westwards to the Pacific Coast for naval and military purposes. But this project was largely abandoned after the close of hostilities in 1945 and it is only since 1955 that interest in the petroleum possibilities of the Northwest Territories has begun to revive. The most promising oil and gas deposits found to date are located in the Eagle Lake area in the Mackenzie River Basin and in the region of the south and the west of Great Slave Lake near the boundary of the Northwest Territories and British Columbia. Three large oil companies, the Shell Oil Company, the Union Oil Company and the Tennessee Gas Transmission Company have recently obtained from the Canadian Government the right to explore over one million acres in the Mackenzie River district of the Northwest Territories and in adjacent regions in the Yukon extending westwards to the Alaska boundary. And, as we have said, oil companies have obtained exploration rights which cover a very large region of the Arctic Islands extending from Baffin Land westwards to the Beaufort Sea and northwest to Bathurst and Ellesmere Islands which are located near the northern end of Greenland and far north of the Arctic Circle. Here again this survey work is still in its early stages and it is possible that the total gas and oil reserves of the Arctic Islands may be much larger than is thought at the present time.

John Diefenbaker and his Progressive Conservative Administration ever since their return to power at Ottawa in 1957 have displayed a keen interest in the hitherto neglected economic possibilities of the Canadian Far North and have made it clear that the Canadian Government is prepared to spend a great deal of money on the construction of roads and other transportation facilities for the opening up of this whole area. It is already apparent however that the economic future of the Far North may be bright, yet the development of this area will inevitably be attended by many difficulties and problems. One of the greatest of these is of course the extreme isolation of the Northwest Territories and its remoteness from the large centres of population and industry in Canada and the United States. Vast sums of money will have to be spent on the development

of transportation facilities here during the next few years. At the present time, commercial air routes and the rivers and the waterways of the region are the chief avenues of transport there. During the past two years the Canadian Government has completed a highway from Grimshaw in the Peace River district northwest of Edmonton northwards through the wilderness to the settlement of Hay River on the south shore of Great Slave Lake. And from the outpost of Waterways at the northern end of the line of the Alberta Northern Railway which has its terminus at Edmonton, a barge system of navigation is carried on during the summer months down the Athabaska and the Slave Rivers to the Great Slave Lake and then down the Mackenzie River to the port of Aklavik on the Arctic. But this route has many disadvantages from the standpoint of large scale transport. The navigation season is of necessity short and a 16-mile portage is necessary by road around a series of rapids on the Slave River and in addition there is a series of shallows in the Athabaska River which can be a serious hindrance to navigation during the summer months.

The Federal Government is well aware of the urgent necessity of improving communications over this whole region of Northern Canada. It definitely plans to give financial aid for the construction of two new major highways, one running northwards from Dawson City and the Yukon River to the coast of the Arctic and the other running from the north shore of the Great Slave Lake northwards past the uranium mining communities on the shore of the Great Bear Lake to the port of Coppermine on the Arctic. And due to the climatic and soil conditions in this section of the Northwest Territories, the construction of these routes is bound to be costly and difficult.

But the Federal Government realizes that the construction of a rail line into this region from Northern Alberta is absolutely necessary for its economic progress, however great may be the cost involved. During the past three years, it has been studying in detail the project of the construction of a rail line from a point in Northern Alberta near the Peace River or the Athabaska River northwards to the shores of Great Slave Lake. In the spring of 1959, the Diefenbaker Administration appointed a Royal Commission for the study of this project, and its report should be completed before the opening of the next session of the Canadian Parliament in January, 1960. At the present time, two routes are being discussed for this line. One would run from the northern terminus of the Alberta Northern Railways at Waterways northwards past Lake Athabaska to Pine Point on Great Slave Lake. The other route would run northwards from Grimshaw, Alberta, paralleling the highway which has already been constructed through this area to Great Slave Lake. The completion of this line would undoubtedly stimulate greatly the economic progress of the whole region from the Great Slave Lake northwards to the shores of the Arctic. It would greatly reduce the cost of transportation of goods from Alberta and Western Canada into the Mackenzie River region and would thereby greatly aid the mining and oil and gas prospecting projects there. It would also help the opening-up of the nickel and lead reserves in the Pine Point region on Great Slave Lake. The Consolidated Mining

and Smelting Corporation has already announced that it is planning to start mining operations on a large scale there if this rail line is built. And it would also serve to reduce vastly the transport time between Edmonton and Northern Alberta and points in the basin of the Mackenzie River from Great Slave Lake right down to the coast of the Arctic. But even with the completion of these new transportation links, the problem of the high cost of the transport of goods will always be a serious one throughout this whole district of the Canadian North.

And there are also other specific problems connected with the development of the oil and the natural gas industries in the Northwest Territories and in the Islands of the Arctic Archipelago. Some of the most promising oil finds in the Northwest Territories have been made in regions where both deep muskeg and permafrost are present, both conditions combining to make drilling costly and difficult. The permafrost extends as a rule to a depth of about one thousand feet and often the section near the surface thaws during the summer months, forming a black sticky mass through which it is difficult for drilling instruments and machinery to penetrate. Further to the north, in the islands of the Arctic Archipelago, climatic conditions are of course very severe and the summer exceedingly short. But, on the other hand, the lack of vegetation here and the presence of the strata of the rock containing the oil close to the surface of the rock makes the task of the geologist here in some ways an easy one.

And there is also the problem of marketing the oil once the wells have been drilled and production has started. The districts in the Northwest Territories which seem promising from the standpoint of oil production are located too far north to be connected with the existing oil pipe lines in Alberta and the Northwest Territories. Therefore new pipe lines will have to be built from these fields either westwards to the coast of British Columbia or Alaska or northwards to the coast of the Arctic. Of these two projects the first is much the most practicable since the summer navigation season is short in the Canadian Arctic. But oil from the Northwest Territories piped across the mountains to the Pacific Coast region of British Columbia would have to face the competition of the very large and newly exploited oil fields in the neighbouring State of Alaska. And there is no doubt the large scale marketing of the oil and gas reserves located on the Islands of the Canadian Arctic Archipelago awaits the invention of some new form of transport in the Arctic such as an atomic submarine tanker which can operate under the ice there all the year round. Also, at the present time, there are serious problems in connection with the marketing of Canadian oil reserves in the Western Provinces because of the lack of demand in American and world markets.

Similarly the future development of mining enterprises all over the Northwest Territories will largely depend upon the world demand for these minerals and the costs of extracting and processing them. Scattered across the Northwest Territories are numerous deposits of some sub-marginal minerals which could become commercially exploitable if the world demand for them increases and if the cost of their extraction and transport decreased to a sufficient extent. But mining costs will always

be high in this whole region. For example, it is possible in Northern Ontario to mine ore with a gold content of approximately 15 per cent an ounce, while, to make the same rate of profits in the Northwest Territories, it is necessary to mine ores which have a gold content of approximately .45 per ounce. And the world demand for many of these minerals is always an uncertain one. One can see this factor at work in connection with the uranium mining industry which has sprung up during the past two decades along the shores of the Great Bear Lake. The decision of the United States Government to curtail drastically its purchases of Canadian uranium during the next two or three years is already having an adverse effect on the mining enterprises in this region.

There is also the set of problems connected with living and working in these far northern latitudes where there are only a few hours of daylight during the mid-winter and where the snow remains on the ground for almost five months of the year. It is true that, thanks to the progress of commercial aviation, some of that feeling of complete isolation from civilization which has been one of the most trying features of life in that area is past. Today it is possible for residents of far northern communities such as Radium City on Great Bear Lake or Aklavik at the mouth of the Mackenzie River to fly down to Winnipeg or Edmonton for a weekend, a trip which two decades ago took several weeks at the very least. Today one can live just as comfortably in one of these communities near the Arctic Circle as in Montreal or New York. Nevertheless, it will be always difficult for mining or industrial enterprises operating in this region to attract workers there no matter how high a rate of wages is paid or how attractive the working conditions may be.

For all the reasons which we have discussed, the economic development of the whole vast region from the Hudson Bay westward to the Mackenzie River Basin and the Yukon is likely to be limited, no matter what spectacular oil and mineral finds may be made there. Because of the harshness of the climate and the scarcity of arable land, this region of Canada is unlikely ever to support a very large population. The latter will certainly have to be confined to the scattered settlements centred around the extractive industries such as petroleum drilling and metal mining. Nevertheless, provided that world prices for these metals which it seems to contain in such abundance remain high during the next decade, there is no doubt that the investment possibilities in this whole region promise to be very attractive.

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### THE MIDDLE EAST IN 1960

THE Middle East in its present shape partakes of Africa as well as of Western Asia. The influence of Islam reaches from Mauretania, at present still in the French Community, and Nigeria to Malaya and Indonesia. The Middle East is historically and geographically the centre of Islam. But only during the last ten years has the Middle East become a

factor in African life. Algeria is today an African and a Middle Eastern problem, and Cairo is by far the largest and culturally the most advanced city in Africa. The feeling of Arab solidarity in North Africa is of rather recent origin. The tremendous distances, the relatively few contacts, the difference of conditions in the various countries have hindered the growth of such a feeling. When the Arab League was formed in 1945 North Africa took no part.

It came as a surprise when the Sultan of Morocco, who is not only the secular but the spiritual head of the Moroccan people, at the time of his first visit to Tangiers, then an international city, on April 10, 1947, praised the Arab League for enforcing the bond between all Arabs, "which has permitted their kings and their leaders in the East and in the West to unify their will and march towards a moral progress." Two days later, in an interview with foreign journalists, he declared that "it goes without saying that Morocco, being a country attached by solid bonds to the Arab countries of the East, desires to strengthen those bonds even more resolutely, especially since the Arab League has now become an important factor in world affairs." In the Pact of Tangiers of April 9, 1951, the various factions of Moroccan nationalism in the French and Spanish zones of their country united in a National Front and proclaimed that co-operation with the Arab League was "a national duty before and after realization of independence." In continuation of this Moroccan policy, the Arab League held its autumn 1959 meeting in Casablanca, a meeting from which Iraq and Tunisia were absent.

Of these two absences, Iraq's was more significant. At the time of the Iraqi revolution in July, 1958, many expected that the two military leaders of Egypt and Iraq, Gamal Abdel Nasser and Abdul Karim Kassim, both equally devoted to the unity and social advancement of the Arab nation, would come to an understanding. The opposite happened. This development led Nasser in the name of "Arab solidarity" to a reconciliation with King Saud and King Hussein and to more cordial relations with Lebanon. The rivalry between Egypt and Iraq which continued and increased during 1959, has three aspects. It continues the traditional struggle between the Nile Valley and Mesopotamia for the control of the Middle East; it is a personal struggle between two strong and dedicated men who both regard themselves as called upon to guide the Arabs to a political and moral revival; and it threatened at times to become an ideological struggle between a non-committed Arab nationalism and what might be called an Arab national communism.

The year 1959 was a year of unrest for Iraq. The régime of Nuri collapsed in 1958 so quickly that there was no time for the various groups which had overthrown it to work together and to develop some kind of programme. They represented heterogeneous trends which agreed only in hate of the Nuri régime. Against the strong forces in Iraq which supported a close co-operation with the United Arab Republic, Premier Kassim had first to rely on the support of the Communists. Suppressed under the Nuri régime, the Communists had gained the reputation of martyrs and thus exercised a growing influence among students and labour. With the help

of front organizations they could mobilize the masses for resolutions and demonstrations following the Communist line. The high tide of Communist influence in Iraq coincided with the liquidation of the disastrous Mosul Affair. This complex and in its motives and course non-transparent fighting which was conducted on both sides with great savagery, left deep wounds and suspicions in its wake. The Communists defied police and army in making arrests and stopping nationalist newspapers, doing it in Kassim's name, but without his sanction. The Premier forced the Communists to release the prisoners and to acknowledge having committed errors. He tried to steer a middle path and regained much of his popularity with the non-Communists. But the execution, on September 20, 1959, of 17 leading Iraqi army officers lost Kassim some of his regained popularity. By the end of 1959 Premier Kassim and the Iraqi Communists followed a policy of watchful co-existence. After 18 months of trouble and tension Kassim seems still to be firmly in control and the Communists, though they had a free run, frustrated in the attempt to create a Soviet satellite.

In foreign affairs the Iraqi Government proceeded cautiously. The foreign office was able to resist Communist infiltration. Technicians from both the free West and the Communist East are widely used. But because until recently all technicians were Western, the present balance appears as a move towards the East. In its relationship with the foreign oil companies the Government was careful, too. Though it is pressing for a bigger share of profits, it emphasizes and realizes the need for co-operation with the oil companies.

As in other undeveloped countries, the Government in Iraq is full of good intentions to carry through thorough social and economic reforms, and some of its members work devotedly for these. But the substructure for such reforms does not yet exist and there is a lack of capable civil servants to carry them through. The Arab policy of the present régime has not yet crystallized. Like all Arabs, Kassim supported the Algerian struggle for independence and from time to time outbid Nasser in opposition to Israel. He lent, though only with hesitation, aid to the old plan of the unity of the Fertile Crescent, the unity of the formerly Turkish lands from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea. But his main concern was with Iraqi domestic policy and its unsettled state. It should, however, not be forgotten that the Arabs, whatever divides them internally, resent bitterly any outside attempt to divide them. That was the mistake of the Baghdad Pact and of the Eisenhower Doctrine. Both belong now to the past.

As against the instability in Iraq, Egypt showed in 1959 a remarkable degree of stability. British and French owners received back their property, sequestered by Egypt in the wake of the Suez Canal war of 1956, during 1959, and the French schools, which have played a great role in Egyptian education, were restored to French administration and, in many cases, their Roman Catholic teaching staffs have returned. On December 1, 1959, the United Arab Republic and Britain re-established diplomatic relations. The long lasting dispute between Egypt and Sudan about the utilization of the Nile waters, a dispute going back for more than 30 years, was settled by an agreement signed in Cairo on November 8, 1959. The agreement removed



the last obstacle to the construction of Egypt's High Dam at Aswan, the huge project started with the help of a Soviet loan of \$92 million for the first stage of the construction. West Germany offered a loan of \$48 million to build the second stage of the dam. The High Dam is scheduled to increase the present six million acres of cultivated land by one million acres by July, 1964, and by another million acres during 1970. The Egyptians are gaining experience by other experiments to increase the water supply in the country and, in modest beginnings, to make part of the desert "blossom". Of equal importance is the provision of drinking water to the Egyptian villages. By the end of 1959 five hundred wells were drilled to supply some nine hundred communities with safe water.

President Nasser seems to have made up his mind to devote his thought and energy to economic and social reforms, so as to strengthen his position of leadership of the Arab nation. The celebration of the seventh anniversary of the revolution that overthrew the Egyptian monarchy was accompanied by the announcement of record expenditures for social services and for a larger national income which should be distributed "in such manner as to realize a socialist co-operative society and secure the equilibrium and stability of the national economy." More than a fourth of the current budget of one billion, seven hundred million dollars was earmarked for economic development projects, more than twice the amount of the preceding year. The last five years have seen very many new developments in the modernization of Cairo and other cities and in the industrialization of the country. All that is not more than a beginning, but a beginning which on the one hand would have seemed improbable ten years ago and on the other is in line with the rapid economic and social progress in all lands.

Three years ago many voices were heard in the West, especially in France, which in accord with old imperialist attitudes derided Arab abilities to run the Suez Canal efficiently on modern lines. By the end of 1959 the Canal became a living symbol of the new spirit animating the Arabs and all other under-developed countries. The convoys through the Suez Canal are moving on time and with fewer hitches than ever before. The channel is being deepened and a project foresees its broadening to allow two-way traffic. *The New York Times* reported on October 11, 1959, an American engineer observing that "there is more Canal improvement going on right before our eyes than the French ever put through in 20 years."

In February, 1959, the first general meeting of the Middle East Industrial Developments Project Corporation took place in Cairo. Sixteen Middle Eastern and Western nations participated under the chairmanship of Paul Rykens, of The Netherlands. The non-governmental organization hopes to bring together Western and Middle Eastern capital and know-how to establish new industries in the area. The Egyptian delegate stressed the determination of the United Arab Republic to do its best to encourage foreign investment by granting foreign capital substantial tax exemptions and permitting transfer of dividends abroad. Two months later the first Arab petroleum congress organized by the Arab League met in Cairo



and expressed the wish of the Arab oil producing countries for a share of the profits, not only of production, but also of transportation, refining and marketing of the oil. Its discussions and its resolutions showed a general spirit of moderation and stressed the interdependence of the Arabs and the West with regard to Arabian oil. Nine Arab countries, Iran and Venezuela participated in the Congress. Iraq was absent, but in a statement on April 27 Dr. Ibrahim Kubba, its Minister of Economy, agreed in principle with the major decisions of the congress. Dr. Juan Pablo Perez Alfonzo, who represented Venezuela, stressed the common interest between Latin America and the Middle East in oil production and hoped for the establishment of a permanent channel for consultation between the two regions. Emile Bustani, the spokesman of the Lebanese delegation, asked that the oil companies contribute five per cent of their income to the Arab Development projects in the Middle East. A second petroleum congress will meet in 1960 in Beirut.

The consolidation of the situation in Egypt in 1959 has led to a similar consolidation in other Arab lands, with the exception of Iraq. The visit of President Eisenhower to Tunisia and Morocco at the end of 1959 emphasized the new trend in Arab-Western relations. The joint declaration of President Eisenhower and President Bourguiba, expressing their deep concern over the development in Algeria, bore this out. The consolidation of the situation in Lebanon after the stormy events of 1958 made it possible to enlarge the four-man Government at the end of November, 1959, by the addition of several members who had led the opposition against the former President Chamoun, and to begin a modernization of the administrative personnel, thereby strengthening the Mohammedan element without arousing the violent suspicion or opposition of the Christian parties.

The hopes of most Arabs still remained in 1959 connected with Nasser's personality. In *The New York Times* of May 7, 1959, its correspondent Mr. Richard P. Hunt, reported from Kuwait that pictures of Nasser "show Kuwaiti sentiments in the bazaars, the houses and even in the schools built by the ruler of Kuwait." The prosperous and well-educated Arabs in this thriving city "dream of the day when Kuwait will join other Arab States in a larger political complex", though they know that then Kuwait will have to share its wealth with other Arab lands. "It is a question of dignity," a young Arab told the American correspondent. "President Nasser has shown us how we can look you in the eye." Another remarked that only the feeling of Arab unity could give them a sense of purpose. "We cannot be happy, when others about us in the Arab world are miserable."

From the other end of Arabia, from the new kingdom of Libya, another American correspondent Mr. Jay Walz reported in *The New York Times* of December 1, 1959, that a civil servant explained the abundance of Nasser's pictures everywhere together with those of the Libyan king by saying that "the king is a most important man in Libya but Nasser is most important to all Arabs. He is for all Arabs. All Arabs are for him." The king is 70 years old and ailing. At the same time there is great expectation that much oil will be discovered in the Libyan desert and thus solve some

of the economic problems of the sparsely-populated desert kingdom.

At the end of 1959 the Middle East was caught in the same dynamic tide as all the other under-developed lands. In an editorial, discussing the situation in Cuba, *The New York Times* wrote on December 21, 1959: "The Castro revolution is the climax of a long development and it is an expression of widely held ideas and aspirations throughout Latin America. We are at the beginning of a new era in the Western Hemisphere. In its way the manifestation of extreme nationalism that we see in Cuba is a reflection of the same type of nationalism we find in Africa and have been seeing in the Middle East and Asia." This world-wide development cannot be viewed primarily in the context of the struggle with Communism. It is a development in its own right, and it is ultimately the product not of Communist influences but of Western ideas. This development which has gained such a momentum since 1948 requires a psychological readjustment on the part of the advanced Western or Westernized nations in their relationship to the under-developed peoples, especially to those which are their neighbours or are historically connected with them. The future influence and security of the technologically advanced nations will depend on the success of this readjustment.

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## MONTALEMBERT : II

**M**ONTALEMBERT fully shared the desire of his leader Lamennais for social justice under Catholic auspices, but he was no less ardent a champion of the principle of nationality. His imagination had been fired by the struggle of Catholic Ireland and Catholic Belgium for independence. In this movement for national self-determination which was sweeping across Europe the Church should take the lead. The cause of Poland was particularly dear to his heart, and the insurrection of 1830 seemed to him as much a religious as a political movement and therefore a holy cause. He confessed to a longing to throw up everything and fly to Warsaw. "At last," he cried as news of early victories poured in, "Poland has shaken off her chains and defied her barbarous oppressors, this proud and generous Poland, so calumniated, so dear to every Catholic heart. Can she regain her place among the nations, this people which has for so long struggled for liberty and has kept unimpaired the faith of its fathers? Where is the heart which will not palpitate with joy at the news of this holy revolt? With what transports of happiness do we Catholics receive God's dramatic response to our prayers?" Montalembert drafted a petition to the

Chambers in favour of the gallant insurgents, but the Government took no action and Russian troops marched into the capital, "Catholics," cried *l'Avenir*, "Poland is vanquished. Let us kneel beside the coffin of this betrayed people which has been great and unfortunate." Sobieski had saved Vienna and the civilized world from the Turks, but now Governments could no more be moved than bronze statues. For the simultaneous insurrection in the Romagna, on the other hand, *l'Avenir* had no sympathy, since the integrity of the Papal States was involved.

Encouraged by the interest shown in *l'Avenir*, Lamennais and his young lions founded an *Agence Générale pour la Défense de la Liberté Religieuse* with the object of marshalling all ardent Catholics for defence of their rights against arbitrary acts in the Chambers and the Tribunals, to strive for liberty of instruction, and to obtain every other legitimate purpose advantageous to religion, the poor and civilization. A programme of such amplitude mirrors the self-assurance of the little band which felt that nothing was beyond their grasp. Branches of the *Agence* were established in every diocese, and the crusaders carried the flaming torch into the provinces by speaking tours. The attack was concentrated on the State monopoly in the schools. A Government in control of education and the university was the fortress of incredulity, wrote *l'Avenir*, which "could fashion to its taste the faith, the opinions, the morals of generations. To give it this power is to install despotism in the depths of the soul. Every one for whom liberty is not an empty word must reject this monopoly of the mind as the most revolting yoke." Parents and children, remembering with horror the education they had received, were urged to send petitions to the Chambers and so arouse public attention.

Though the Charta of 1830 had promised liberty of teaching, nothing had been done in 1831 when *l'Agence* opened a school bearing a notice above the door: *Liberté d'Enseignement. Ecole libre*. "We are assembled," declared Lacordaire at the opening ceremony, "to claim the mother of all liberties, without which there is no liberty in the home, no liberty of conscience, no liberty of opinion, but sooner or later slavery, the subjection of all to the views of a single man." The school in which Montalembert and Lacordaire were teachers was promptly closed, and its founders were charged with breaking the law. Montalembert, who at that moment succeeded his father in the family title, demanded to be tried by his peers as was his right. After making his confession to Lacordaire and receiving communion, he pleaded the cause of liberty for the schools in a speech which revealed the youngest member of the Upper House as one of the finest orators in France. Since eight peers voted for his acquittal and the minimum sentence—a fine of 100 francs—was imposed, the trial was hailed as a moral victory for the defendants who had to wait 20 years for the triumph of their cause.

While Montalembert was campaigning in the south for the *Agence Générale* he received news that *l'Avenir*, after running for 13 months, was to cease publication, as it had not paid its way and the bishops frowned on the policy of terminating the Concordat. "We have sown seed," wrote Lamennais, "which time will develop." It was a bitter blow

for Montalembert, who replied: "God's will be done, I repent of nothing." Was that to be the end of the story? "We cannot fade out like this," declared Lacordaire, "we must journey to Rome to justify our aims. This dramatic step, proving our sincerity and our orthodoxy, will be a blessing to us and will disarm our enemies." What if they were condemned? inquired Montalembert. "Impossible," replied Lamennais. He was soon to learn that their pilgrimage was extremely unwelcome to the Vatican, which could hardly approve their radical programme but wished to avoid public condemnation desired by some of the French bishops, for *l'Avenir* had never challenged a single article of the faith. Their reception was as frigid as the winter weather. Instead of receiving them at once the Vatican requested a summary of their ideas. The document was drafted by Lacordaire and studied by the Pope, who replied to Lamennais through Cardinal Pacca that, while recognizing his services and good intentions, he regretted that they had raised certain dangerous consequences. The examination of their programme might take time, so they should return to France. "This is the ruin of our hopes," exclaimed Montalembert, "but we must resign ourselves, though it does not arouse the slightest remorse in our soul." Lacordaire took it calmly, but Lamennais declared his intention of remaining in Rome till the promised declaration appeared. Before it was ready the Pope granted them an audience. "I was completely disappointed," reported Montalembert. "He is good looking, but there is nothing lofty or spiritual about him, and he kept one hand in his pocket. For a quarter of an hour he talked to us in a very affable manner about various places and people, and dismissed us very graciously without having made the slightest reference to our mission and the situation of the Church." While Lacordaire understood his silence and returned to France, Montalembert was still too much under the influence of *mon général, mon père*, and too convinced of the value of their labours to approve the caution of the Vatican.

After a visit to Monte Cassino and Naples and a second sojourn in Rome Lamennais and Montalembert travelled slowly north to Munich, the Mecca of German Catholicism, where, to their surprise, they were joined by Lacordaire. While the three friends were dining together the chief was called out of the room, returning with the words: "I have just received an Encyclical against us and we must not hesitate to submit." He proceeded to draft a declaration of submission, announcing that *l'Avenir*, provisionally suspended in the autumn of 1831, would not re-appear and that the *Agence Catholique* would be dissolved. That, however, did not reflect his real mood, for he ceased to say mass, and returned to his Breton home with bitterness in his heart.

Lacordaire, then on the threshold of his career as the greatest preacher since Massillon, left his old leader when he realized his determination to go his own way, and strove to carry Montalembert with him. "I have tried to warn you against a fatal dominating influence, not from jealousy and personal dislike, but from my infinite love for you, just as a mother attempts to cure her son of a taste which cannot bring him happiness." The appeal was in vain, but his reverence for "this great and holy man"

was undiminished and he had not abandoned all hope of saving this dynamic force for the Church. What the arguments of Lacordaire failed to achieve was soon rendered inevitable by the caged eagle who beat his wings against the bars and longed to range the skies once more. "At times," he confided to Montalembert, "the yearning for the fray surges up in my soul and causes inexpressible anguish." Convinced of a divine calling, he resolved to fulfil it outside the Church which declined its co-operation. "I feel sure that all Catholic action which assumes the support or even the neutrality of the clergy is utterly impossible today, and will continue to be impossible till God effects an immense reform in the Church. The hierarchy obstinately desires everything that people do not want and rejects everything they desire. So let us leave the Pope and the bishops alone. Let us cease to concern ourselves with religious office and no longer approach any question from the theological point of view. Let us take our stand on the political and social plane and speak henceforth as Frenchmen and friends of humanity." In his grief and disappointment he had adopted the broad distinction between the temporal and the spiritual which he had once denounced and thereby was more than half way out of the Church.

At last even Montalembert was alarmed and begged his beloved master to avoid the dusty arena of politics. It was much more than politics that he had in mind, was the reply, for the transformation of society and the liberation of the human race were involved. Hearing that the Pope had written to an Archbishop expressing doubts of his sincerity, he assured the Pope of his whole-hearted submission to all decisions on faith, morals and discipline, adding that he would no longer occupy himself with affairs of the Church. If this declaration appeared insufficient he begged to be told what form of words would be required. Since differentiation between the temporal and the spiritual, above all in a priest, was anathema in Rome, an unconditional formula was requested and promptly supplied. A new text was forwarded to Rome, but in a letter to Montalembert announcing his latest formula he added a few sentences which filled his favourite disciple with dismay. "I renounce everything without exception which has filled my former life and shall try, however late, to start a new one. I shall not tell you my plans because I do not wish to associate anyone with my destinies. This prevents me from accepting your tender invitations. We shall meet again, I hope, above, but on earth we must follow separate paths."

Montalembert could hardly believe his eyes as he read these ominous words and begged for an explanation. The Pope, replied the lost leader, was mistaken in confounding spiritual power with temporal, and thereby violating the tradition of the Church. An unconditional recognition of his authority, in his opinion, would mean recognition of his infallibility. To challenge the authority of the Pope, as the rebel was well aware, was to break with the Church, but he was convinced that he had no choice. Henceforth he was lonelier than ever, for Montalembert, whom he invited to stand at his side, reluctantly withdrew. When the old leader published the *Paroles d'un croyant* in 1834 explaining his new faith the younger man publicly announced his adhesion to the Encyclicals. In response

to a final appeal his old chief declared that he could not act against his conscience and, when a friend expressed the opinion that Catholicism was a dead or dying form, he replied that he agreed. After reading the rebel's *Affaires de Rome* in which he complained of the treatment he had received, Montalembert wrote to the Pope to express his disapproval, and on his next visit to the Vatican was received with the words, "*Carissimo Conte de Montalembert.*" The spell was broken at last. His painful struggles were over and he continued to serve the cause of the Church by his popular biography of Saint Elizabeth of Hungary, by his massive survey of western monasticism, and above all by his ardent support in the House of Peers and, after 1848, in the Chamber, of the cause of confessional schools which triumphed in the *Loi Falloux*.

The association with Lamennais was the most memorable experience in the life of Montalembert, and 20 years after the breach he felt that his early efforts had not been wholly in vain. In *Les Intérêts Catholiques au XIXe siècle*, the most widely read of his shorter writings, he contrasted the state of religion at the opening of the century with the outlook in 1852. Then Pius VI had died the prisoner of an atheistic republic, French bishops were in exile, the clergy decimated by the guillotine and deportation, the religious orders uprooted or destroyed. In the rest of Europe religion was no longer alive. To the *Philosophes* Catholicism must have seemed a corpse awaiting burial. In the first half of the nineteenth century the Church had resumed its place in the front rank. In England the Catholics had been emancipated, and the Belgians had freed their country and their faith, but the transformation had been most complete in France. The youth had returned to Christianity, the leaders of thought professed or at least respected religion. The Society of St. Vincent de Paul and the Society of the Propagation of the Faith were flourishing, the religious orders were restored and increased, and liberty of teaching had been secured by the Church. The bishops lived freely in provincial community, and the Pope had been restored to the Eternal City by French arms.

How had this incredible change occurred? Neither by Napoleon nor by the restoration of the Monarchy. In 1830 the Church had hardly escaped being involved in the fall of the Monarchy, as in 1792. It was liberty and the struggle rendered possible by liberty which had performed the miracle. Everywhere the same cause had produced a similar result. "What I love and desire is ordered, tempered, moderate liberty which the great spirits and the great nations of all ages had won, or of which they had dreamed, liberty which, far from being the foe of authority, could only exist in association with it, while opposing the abuse of power." Representative government was the only possible pattern of political liberty in the nineteenth century. As a constitutionalist Montalembert disapproved the Second Empire but felt that there was no need for Catholics to oppose it and believed it would not last long.

The death of Lacordaire in 1861 caused a surge of memories, and in his touching memoir of his best friend Montalembert enshrined his final reflections on the thrilling experiences of his youth. Lamennais, he declared, had lost his temper and had been utterly wrong in breaking with the



Church; happily he had not taken a single disciple with him. Lacordaire had been right to leave him after striving to keep him within the fold. He himself had misjudged Gregory XVI at the time, for the Vatican, he now realized, had displayed sympathy, patience and wisdom in dealing with the pilgrims who had sought his approval. The long period of waiting in Rome before their reception was intended as a gentle indication that approval was improbable. How, indeed, could they have expected the fortress of tradition to approve such a radical proposal as the separation of Church and State in France? Had not the Pope displayed tact in withholding his disapproval till their importunity compelled him to act? The appeal to Rome had been a grave error, and no pontiff could have acted differently. Such a mistake was intelligible in young men without experience of the world and the Church, but how could one explain and much less excuse the illustrious priest who had once been received with distinction by Léo XII? While Lamennais never regretted his rebellion and Lacordaire had nothing to regret, Montalembert made peace with his conscience by a recantation as public and as whole-hearted as the Vatican could have wished.

G. P. GOOCH

## FENELON THE DAUPHIN'S TUTOR

WHEN news of the death of Fénelon, the celebrated tutor of the Dauphin, reached Louis at his palace in 1715 he observed to Madame de Maintenon that France would sorely miss Fénelon in her hour of need (*Il nous manquera bien au besoin*). Never were words more truly spoken. When the deluge predicted by Louis XV arrived, under his own successor, one of Fénelon's first governmental principles—which is that either an over-individualism or an extreme of collectivism is of the highest danger to a State—was illustrated by the anarchists of the French Revolution. No educator ever saw this with greater clarity or instilled it in a potential ruler with greater force than had the *Petit-Prince's* mentor. There is little doubt but that the whole course of French history would have been different if Louis' grandson whom Fénelon taught had lived to head the realm.

The story of Fénelon's eight-year tutelage (1689-1697) of the Duke of Burgundy is famous in educational annals. When, at the age of seven, the *Petit-Prince* was put in his tutor's hands, he was intractable, overbearing, given to tantrums. The change that Fénelon effected in this royal pupil (almost immediately) resembles that of Anne Sullivan in her own transformation of Helen Keller as the latter describes it in her *Autobiography*. For the child became and remained, under the Fénelon influence, both teachable and gentle. Endowed with a brilliant mind, he met even the high standards set by his tutor for a prince's education. This teacher's theory that the pupil should be considered first and the system



second went so far that he wrote the Dauphin's textbooks. The classic phrase "*ad usum Delphini*" (for the use of the Dauphin) refers to the books Fénelon prepared for his *Petit-Prince*. These books began with the *Fables*, which present in the entertaining style of a Perrault various moral lessons of a high order; later came the *Dialogues des Morts*, imaginary conversations between historical persons, which showed the need for ethical standards in political matters. The crowning achievement was the famous *Télémaque* which Fénelon wrote to instil unforgettably in his charge's mind "the great and holy maxim that kings exist for the sake of their subjects and not subjects for the sake of their kings." The picture of Louis himself in this work is painted with candour as well as high artistry. The king in *Télémaque*, or *Idoménée*, is vain, cruel, munificent, supersensitive and a true aesthete. Louis' softness, luxuriousness, sensuality, appear as qualities anything but kingly.

Louis' remark anent Fénelon's death, quoted at the beginning of this paper, actually shows a profound change of heart on the *grand Monarch's* part. He was beside himself with fury at the portraiture in *Télémaque*, and had seen to it that its author was permanently exiled in his diocese at Cambrai. There, as Archbishop, he remained until his death. Only three years before the king's prophecy to Madame de Maintenon about France's need of this man, and at the time of the Dauphin's death, the impetuous Louis had burned all the Fénelon letters to Burgundy in a fit of anger, leaving an irreparable loss to *belles-lettres*. However even Louis-Idoménée was to respect Fénelon at the last, over and above his wounded pride. None, it seemed, could hold out forever against the sweetness and persuasiveness of his personality. The priest-educator's personal magnetism, made up of high-bred dignity no less than of learning, his wit and warmth of spirit, drew all to him. It cost an effort, wrote Saint Simon in his famous literary portrait of this contemporary, to turn one's eyes away from Fénelon in any company.

Before he became the Dauphin's tutor the young priest of San Sulpice College in Paris had been observed and marked for court favour; in his work among the poor as catechist as well as his later teaching at Saintonge his classes had been visited by members of the nobility and his natural ability as teacher noted. His early treatise, the *Traité de l'Education des Filles* (1667), prepared for the family of the Duke of Beauvilliers, had seemed to Madame de Maintenon providentially provided for her pet project—the school for daughters of impoverished nobles which she had set up at St. Cyr near Versailles. From this epochal far-seeing treatise all the way to his famous letter to the French Academy in 1714 on literature's threefold goal (for citizenship, for divine truth, for human knowledge) Fénelon taught that the human self with its unmeasured capacities along personal and social lines is the educator's *point d'appui*. Politics, religion, education, are to be viewed from three different angles; but they are to be centred in a single spirit—the human—as its essential manifestations and natural products. Otherwise either the person or the nation or both will suffer.

In presenting his triune doctrine which includes specific treatises on

government, education and religion, each of which is held as complementing the other, Fénelon left a name bright in French political science, pedagogics, and spiritual counselling. "This priest," wrote the literary historian, Lanson, "believed in the goodness of nature." Not only the individual's own right to development and fulfilment according to his nature but that of society itself are the twin foci of his triple programme. Thus, as Douglas Steere recently commented, his Christian counsels stand with the most mature pieces of spiritual instruction that have come down to us from any age. And in education and politics he was so far in advance of the times that the world has not yet caught up with him.

Long after his exile to Cambrai it had seemed that Fénelon still might be a real force in politics. When Burgundy was left in immediate succession to the crown by the death of his father in 1711, the *Petit-Prince* was only 30 years old. He had already chosen his advisers: Fénelon and the Dukes of Beauvilliers and Chevreuse, each of whom saw eye to eye with the Dauphin regarding reform measures in France. Together they met with the French heir-apparent to the crown at Chaulnes and drew up the principles of government by which Burgundy would rule. Versailles was to be abolished, the heavy salt and poll-taxes and tithes were to be removed; but of prime importance was the immediate setting up of a parliamentary system, and the overall peace programme. The young prince, in fact, had been fired with a burning zeal to renovate France, which he saw being rapidly brought to destruction by wars, corruptions and debts. Fénelon, who was to be Burgundy's prime minister, had taught him that wars fatten the humble while they demoralize the great. "There has never been a war," Fénelon went on record in a saying which he held firmly to the last, "that, even fortunately terminated, has not left more of ill than good to the State." He held to non-resistance and charity as the sole Christian attitude to civilization's scourge and blot. And what he meant, he showed in 1709 when his archbishopric was the scene of a great battle between France and Europe in the War of the Spanish Succession. For Fénelon turned his large palace and seminaries into dormitories and hospitals for the wounded on both sides. He fed and cared for the soldiery regardless of nationality, handing over the entire harvest of his vast estates for their needs. And in his own person he visited all who needed a priest's services, friend and enemy alike, on the bloody field of Malplaquet.

Such was the educator at the court of Louis XIV. Between him and the Dauphin—who died in 1712 three years before the death of the great Louis—France might have been saved from revolution and, through France, Europe. Certainly his governmental ideals remain the goal of all government worthy of the name. But Fénelon himself was to die on January 7, 1715, leaving a nation still under the rule (for eight more months) of the *grand Monarch*. It is Fénelon, however, not Louis, whose name stands in untarnished brightness among the greatest of the names of Louis' *Age d'Or*.

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## SIX YEARS OF THE PARIS FESTIVAL

THE idea of a theatrical Olympiad is as old as the theatre itself. The "Theatre of the Nations" in Paris, which embarks on its seventh season in April, 1960, was an indirect consequence of the formation of UNESCO and the foundation of the International Theatre Institute in Prague in 1948, under the chairmanship of J. B. Priestley. The 1949 Zurich Congress of the I.T.I. went on record by asking that such a theatre should be formed. Yet in living memory one name stands out above all others as the architect of the idea of a cultural centre of the theatre, independent of religion, colour, or political creed. This was the eminent French theatrical director Firmin Gémier, who founded the *Société Universelle du Théâtre* and staged the first festival of dramatic and lyric art in Paris in 1927, securing the participation of Belgium, Denmark, Holland, France, Great Britain and Spain.

Firmin Gémier is no more, but his idea lives on and the man who, above all, has been responsible for keeping it alive is, not surprisingly, another Frenchman. He is Arman Maistre, an illustrious name in the annals of French theatre history; for M. Maistre is a sometime actor and pupil of Copeau and Dullin and toured the villages of Burgundy as a young lad in the theatrical touring company known throughout the world as the *Compagnie des Quinze*; he danced and sang and tumbled his way through the French provinces in a double music-hall act, known as Julien et Gilles; and he eventually became the director of the city-owned *Théâtre Sarah-Bernhardt* on the right bank of the River Seine in Paris just opposite the *Conciergerie* where Marie-Antoinette was once imprisoned. Today Arman Maistre is best known by his assumed name of A. M. Julien, officer of the *Légion D'Honneur* and Commander of the Most Noble Order of the British Empire. More often than not he is known as plain "Julien" to all and sundry. For six years he has planned and directed the Paris Festival and the Theatre of the Nations, and in 1959 André Malraux, the new Minister for Cultural Affairs in de Gaulle's Government, appointed him Administrator of Paris' two opera houses, a function he now combines with the titular direction of the Theatre of the Nations.

Julien told me that he first conceived the idea of a theatrical meeting-place of all the nations in the early twenties after seeing the performances of the Moscow Art Theatre during its first visit to Western Europe. He suddenly became aware of the powerful influence for international peace which a neutral theatrical forum might exercise among the nations of the world, a forum, in which the art of the theatre, the most ancient in the world, was subject to no language barriers. After the creation of the I.T.I., the need for such a forum began to exert more and more pressure on his mind until he had finally worked out his scheme and took it to the municipal authorities of the city of Paris. The seed fell on fertile ground, and he was able to launch the first Paris Theatre Festival during the months of June and July, 1954. In that year 13 nations took part, with a total of 26 different troupes, including companies from Denmark and Norway, Britain and Ireland, Spain and Belgium, Israel and West Germany, and, for

the first time without public opposition or official demur, from behind the Iron Curtain. These came from Poland, Yugoslavia and East Germany, which sent the *Berliner Ensemble* and revealed to western audiences the unusual strength of Brecht's theatre.

The second and third seasons grew by one month each, so that the 21 nations and 29 companies who came in 1955 from May to July, became 18 nations with 24 companies, which presented not only drama but opera and ballet, from April to July in 1956. The remarkable Chinese company called the "Peking Opera" made its first appearance in the west in 1955, and Austria, Finland, Greece, Holland, Italy and the United States joined the lists, with Canada, Portugal, Sweden and Switzerland bringing up the rear. The newcomers in 1956 included Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and what proved at the time to be the world's youngest theatre of all—the Arabic-speaking National Theatre company of the two-months' old State of Morocco. In the summer of that year the Sixth Congress of the I.T.I., held in Dubrovnik in Yugoslavia, passed the following motion unanimously . . . "after examination of the proposition made by the French Centre of the I.T.I. to found a 'Theatre of the Nations' in Paris . . . Congress gives the Executive Committee full power to put this project into effect . . . and wishes to express its deep gratitude to the French Government and to the City of Paris, for all the help which they may bring to the realization of this great international project." This motion represented the views of 32 delegates of 21 nations attending, who recorded their votes on June 29, 1955—a historic occasion.

Julien had not been letting the grass grow under his feet. Later that year the French Government, the City of Paris, and the Department of the Seine voted a joint annual budget of 80,000,000 francs towards the scheme. This sum at the time represented about 80 millions sterling, though since the devaluation of the franc in 1957 the amount has remained unaltered and today represents only about 60 millions. Because Yugoslavia had been host country during the 1956 Congress, and the then President of the I.T.I. was Milan Bogdanovic, director of the National Opera in Belgrade, the honour of inaugurating the first season of the "Theatre of the Nations" on March 27, 1957, fell to the Belgrade Opera, with Massenet's *Don Quichotte*, conducted by the Serbian composer Baranovic. On the day before the official opening a special memorial ceremony was held in the theatre, attended by every leading theatrical and cultural personality in Paris, to do homage to Bertolt Brecht, who had died in the preceding autumn, and whose noted production of his own play, *The Life of Galileo*, with Ernst Busch in the title-role, was performed on the stage of the "Theatre of the Nations" by the *Berliner Ensemble*. Brecht's widow, Helene Weigel, repeated her astonishingly moving performance of the title-role of *Mother Courage*, another of Brecht's plays that had already been seen in Paris two years previously. The "Theatre of the Nations" was well and truly launched. During 1957, its first season, which lasted till July 22, Julien was able to welcome the first visitors from Soviet Russia—the *Beriozka Ballet*—and from Japan—the *No Theatre* from Tokyo. That year altogether 16 troupes, performing in nine languages,

gave a total of 92 separate performances of drama, opera, ballet and one concert.

The average box-office takings rose from 150,000 francs a performance in 1954 to just over 645,000 in 1958, when a hundred separate performances were given, including 56 dramatic, 25 operatic and 19 ballet, in 14 languages by 19 troupes from 16 different countries, which included, for the first time, the Argentine (with two troupes), Ceylon and Canada. The highest attendances were recorded by the Peking Opera, the Moscow Art Theatre, and the three British participants, the Old Vic, the Festival Ballet and the Glyndebourne Opera. From an artistic point of view the company to attract the most publicity and professional interest was the Moscow Art Theatre, making its third visit to Paris (the second took place during the 1937 Exhibition). As the most famous theatrical ensemble in the world, founded 60 years before by Stanislavsky and Nemirovitch-Danchenko, they fully earned the enthusiastic reception accorded to them. They proved to have incomparably fine actors and actresses, their ensemble-playing was unsurpassed, and, in the three Chekhov plays in which they appeared (*The Cherry Orchard*, *Uncle Vanya* and *The Three Sisters*) neither those who expected a certain traditional approach verging on academism nor those who hoped for an accomplished form of psychological realism in performance were disappointed. The new director of the company, Alexander Solodovnikov, had anticipated some earlier criticism made by persons who had seen this company in Moscow (myself included) and re-cast the roles of the younger characters with players more suited to them in age. It was delightful to see three talented and beautiful young actresses as the three Prozoroff sisters previously interpreted by ladies old enough to be their grandmothers. Gone was the gloomy, pessimistic Chekhov to which we are accustomed in the west. Instead the young Prozoroffs, Trofimoff and Tusenbach speak of the future as something attainable, not in a thousand years, as Astroff says, but "within the foreseeable future". This interpretation, which Soviet audiences now see, has been called a distortion of Chekhov's intentions; but the critics who allege this in the west seem to be wholly unaware that the Soviet interpretation is in keeping with Chekhov's own optimism, and its disregard by Stanislavsky often sent him fleeing from rehearsals in despair. The original prompt-copies of the Moscow Art Theatre bear out this aspect of an interesting controversy.

Another new tendency noticeable in the course of the last six years is the spread of the "epic theatre" technique propagated by Bertolt Brecht, a type of "conventional" theatre technique which upholders of the Stanislavsky system are reluctant to accept. This school, of which the leading exponents in the west, apart from Brecht, are Thornton Wilder, Dürrenmatt, Frisch, Adamov and a number of younger British dramatists from John Osborne onwards, has been represented at the "Theatre of the Nations" by the highly popular contributions of London's "Theatre Workshop" under the direction of Joan Littlewood, who won a prize in 1959 for the best piece of direction with her production of Brendan Behan's *The Hostage*, by the Zurich *Schauspielhaus* production of Max Frisch's didactic entertainment *Everyman and the Incendiaries*, and by the People's

Theatre of Nowa Huta in Poland, which staged Gozzi's *Princess Turandot* and Werfel's anti-Fascist *Jakubowsky and the Colonel*, in a similar style.

Two Americans won awards for the best performances in 1959: Zero Mostel for his peerless comic interpretation of the role of Leopold Bloom in James Joyce's *Ulysses in Nighttown*, which was presented by the Arts Theatre from London, and Jerome Robbins, as the choreographer of the Ballets U.S.A. The awards were chosen by the newly formed International Circle of Young Critics, made up of 25 drama and other critics, working or studying in Paris, from the Argentine, Canada, China, Colombia, Egypt, France, Germany, Great Britain, India, Israel, Italy, Japan, Morocco, Mexico, Holland, Peru, Poland, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A., Venezuela and Vietnam. The Challenge Trophy, a bronze statuette representing the arts of music, dance, comedy and tragedy, went to the Comic Opera Playhouse of East Berlin, for Walter Felsenstein's sensational new version of *The Tales of Hoffmann*. Other prizes went to Rina Morelli, as the best actress, in Luchino Visconti's neo-veristic production of the new backstage drama by Diego Fabbri *Figli d'Arte*; Oscar Danon (Belgrade) as the best conductor—though my own choice would have fallen on Georg Solti for an impeccable rendering of *The Marriage of Figaro* by the Frankfurt Opera; Alexander Bossulayev, for the monumental settings of Georgi Tovstonogov's production of Vishnevsky's *An Optimistic Tragedy*, presented by the Pushkin Theatre from Leningrad; Lisa della Casa (Ariadne in Strauss's *Ariadne auf Naxos*, presented by the West Berlin City Opera) and Miroslav Cangalovic (Mefisto in the Belgrade Opera's *Faust*); Mariane Orlando (*prima ballerina* of the Stockholm Royal Opera) and Eduardo Serrano (of the Pilar Lopez dancers from Madrid); and finally a special diploma was given to 28-year-old Roger Planchon, of Lyons, for the best French-language production to be seen in Paris during the Festival, for his novel, though hotly disputed, treatment of Marivaux's *Le Second Triomphe de l'Amour*. Taking part for the first time this season were Haiti, The Philippines and India, which sent two dance companies. A record number of 129 performances (compared with 47 in 1954) was given at the "Theatre of the Nations" this season by 26 troupes from 17 countries playing in 13 languages, without mentioning the 12 French marionette companies, and four foreign marionette theatres, which took part in the first Puppet Festival to be held under its auspices. The number of artists and technicians taking part reached the astonishing total of 2,065 and these were responsible for performing 84 plays, 18 operas, 30 ballets and 33 puppet-plays.

Julien's contributions to international understanding are not limited to performances on the stage of the "Theatre of the Nations". His organization which today is directed by his former assistant, Claude Planson, an energetic little former publicist who spends much of his time travelling around the world and viewing productions which he invites to the Festival, also includes a large number of ancillary activities. Regular press conferences and debates are staged both around the individual productions and on general themes, and to those representatives of the visiting companies are invited to contribute. There is a theatre club called "Friends



of the Theatre of the Nations" with branches in several countries, the members of which are entitled to preferential seat-booking facilities, to reduced seats at several Paris theatres (an important inducement, this, by the way!) and to participation in theatrical excursions to neighbouring countries. Besides the Circle of Young Critics, already referred to, Julien has brought into being two important international associations, of theatre critics and of theatre technicians. The technicians, who held a Congress in June and July, 1959, at the "Theatre of the Nations", which was attended by over 100 delegates from 28 nations, consist of those engaged in every activity connected with the theatre but excluding the performing artist. The critics, for whom a second international Congress is planned for the summer of 1960, include critics of drama, opera and the dance. An international theatre critics' identity card has been issued which entitles its holder to every kind of press facility when travelling on a foreign assignment. Finally the "Theatre of the Nations" has joined forces with the two opera houses under the general direction of Julien and publishes a monthly magazine of the theatre in French, entitled *Théâtre*. This was originally entitled *Rendezvous des Théâtres du Monde* and was given to the purchaser of a theatre programme at the "Theatre of the Nations". Today, with a circulation of 50,000, *Théâtre* is not only sold through the usual commercial channels, but it is also distributed free to the purchaser of a programme at any of the three State-subsidized theatres which finance its publication.

The programmes of the 1960 Festival promise to be particularly exciting. There will be four separate cycles and, for the first time, there will be a company from South Korea. The first cycle will be devoted to modern opera and this will include the West Berlin City Opera's production of Schönberg's *Moses and Aaron* and the Frankfurt Opera's production of Berg's *Lulu*. The second cycle will be devoted to the work of the theatre in the newly-formed "French Community", and will not unnaturally rely for the most part on troupes of coloured dancers from central Africa. Under this heading might perhaps be included the Popular Art Theatre of Brazil, making its first trip to Europe. The third cycle will be devoted to experimental and *avant-garde* productions in which Austria, Belgium, Germany, Great Britain, Switzerland and the United States have promised to take part. Under this heading might be listed the Youth Theatre directed by Michael Croft, a company of boy-actors, in the performance of *Hamlet* which was widely acclaimed in London last autumn. The fourth cycle will be a month devoted to the works of Brecht. The *Berliner Ensemble* is to pay a return visit with six plays, three of them not hitherto performed in Paris. The most eagerly awaited is the new production of Brecht's *The Preventable Rise of Arturo Ui*, an allegoric parable depicting the rise of Nazism in Germany in terms of the gang war of protectionist criminals in Chicago, which had its *première* in East Berlin in March, 1959.

An entirely new project is to be a "Congress of Audiences", which will discuss the theatre from the point of view of the theatregoer and lay down an "International Charter for the Spectator". Finally the French Radio has opened a special recording studio inside the "Theatre of the Nations"



for recordings and transmissions of performances, talks or interviews. As things stand at present the season lasts from the beginning of April to mid-July, but there is a plan to use the remaining months of the year, or a large part of them, for the presentation of foreign plays in French with French actors. This plan was unanimously adopted at the I.T.I. Congress in Athens in 1957, but it came across a certain amount of opposition on the eve of the 1959 Congress in Helsinki and was referred to the Executive for further study. Once the objections of certain French theatrical interests can be overcome there is no reason why it should not be realized next year. It will be only one more activity of the many that have sprouted from the fertile brain of A. M. Julien.

OSSIA TRILLING

## THE FOUNDER OF ESPERANTO

**D**R. LAZAR LUDWIK ZAMENHOF, the eldest of eight children of Markus Zamenhof, was born on December 15, 1859, at Bialystok, a town in Eastern Poland, then under Russian domination and inhabited by a very mixed population—Russians, Poles, Lithuanians and Jews, each of them speaking their own language, a real Babel. It was a community split by jealousies and constant feuds. When Zamenhof was still a boy this state of affairs made him unhappy for he had been taught by his deeply religious and warm-hearted mother from the Bible that all men were brothers and he saw around him people without any brotherly feelings. He was determined, so he writes in his autobiography, to change people's minds once he was grown up by creating a universal language which all could speak and understand, and thus men would no longer hate one another. Both his father and grandfather had been teachers of French and German, and the latter was a pioneer of general culture among the Jews of Bialystok. Young Zamenhof, who had inherited his father's brains, was a very intelligent and hard-working pupil at school, at first at the "*Realgymnasium*" at Bialystok and from 1873 at the classical gymnasium (grammar school) at Warsaw where his parents had sent him as they wanted him later on to study medicine, the only university faculty open to Jews under the Russian régime.

His knowledge of languages increased with the years. In his childhood he had learned French and German, and he spoke Russian, Polish and Yiddish—a mixture of Hebrew and German—with ease. At the gymnasium he became acquainted with Latin and Greek, and for some time he dreamed of reviving these beautiful dead languages for general use. Soon he realized that this was impossible and made various other attempts, inventing rich artificial declensions, conjugations, etc. But such a complicated grammar would have been far too difficult for ordinary people to learn. When he began to study English, he was struck by the simplicity of English grammar and so concluded that many grammatical forms were not necessary. He therefore eliminated from his language, the fundamentals of which were already in existence, all the inessential grammatical forms without impairing

its clarity, reducing the grammatical part to a bare skeleton of rules which could be printed on a few pages.

In 1878, at the age of 19, Zamenhof wanted to publish his work, with the help of some enthusiastic friends interested in his venture. But there were still deficiencies and he decided to wait until he had become completely satisfied with this first attempt at devising a new language which he called *Lingwo Universala*, consisting of a grammar, dictionary, and some translations. He worked incessantly and in secret for six years at his creation, testing it in various ways. He felt there was still something lacking, a unifying element, which would give life and a spirit of its own. He began to avoid literal translations and, trying to think in this neutral language, it acquired a definite character. He had come to the conclusion that no living language could become a universal medium of communication if it identified itself with an individual nationality or country. It must be neutral. In the meantime he had finished his medical studies in Moscow and Warsaw, and after specializing in ophthalmology, he set up a practice as an oculist in Warsaw. It is characteristic that he practised in the Ghetto, the poorest part of the city and worked conscientiously among his poor patients with more worry than profit.

In 1887 Zamenhof married, and with the financial help of his father-in-law he published his first text-book of the international language under the title *First Grammar and International Vocabulary* under the *nom de guerre* of "Dr. Esperanto" (he who hopes), a name later adopted for the language itself. This was the turning point for Zamenhof gained a great number of supporters, among others Leo Tolstoy who publicly recommended that all Christians should learn the language because "the sacrifice" is so small and the results so potentially great for mankind that nobody should refuse to try it. Esperantists, spread over several countries, could test and prove the value of Esperanto as an international medium, and so it began to attract general attention. After fighting derision and indifference, national associations were founded, first in France in 1898, and the propaganda from this centre was soon vigorous. Others followed in Upsala, St. Petersburg, Montreal, and in 1904 the British Esperanto Association was founded. From this time the movement became world-wide.

In 1905 the first Universal Esperanto Congress was held at Boulogne-sur-Mer, where 2,000 representatives of 20 different countries attended under the presidency of Dr. Zamenhof; for the first time different nationalities could speak the same language. At this first assembly the formal Declaration was adopted:

Anyone who so desires can publish in or about this language any sort of work he likes, and use the language for any possible ends.

This meant there were no financial interests connected with the language.

Esperanto has no personal law-giver and depends on no particular person . . .

The name 'Esperantist' is given to everyone who knows and uses the language, no matter for what purposes he employs it.

Since then, these Congresses have taken place every year in different countries (with the exception of the war years), and once you have attended such a meeting you no longer doubt the usefulness of Esperanto. You

hear discussions on the most varied subjects being carried on in a language that seems to be the native tongue of the speakers. No translators, no interpreters are needed, and only Esperanto is spoken. There are social functions with dancing, singing and dramatics, and all wear their badge—a green, five-pointed star. The next Congress will be held in August in Brussels. That Esperanto is not only a language for merely practical purposes but expression of the longing of mankind for unity, was recognized by UNESCO at its meeting at Montevideo in 1954, when a resolution was passed “that the results achieved by Esperanto correspond to the aims and ideals of UNESCO itself in advancing a world consciousness and contributing to international co-operation in the fields of education, science and culture.”

There are, of course, many other artificial languages—Volapük, *Ido*, Intraglossa, Interlingua—which look all right on paper, but are too complicated and they lack the spirit of idealism, of brotherhood, with which Zamenhof inspired his language and which is still alive. Besides, Esperanto has built up a strong organization during these 70 years with which the other languages could not compete. The Universal Esperanto Association in Rotterdam has 35 affiliated countries; one of them is the British Esperanto Association with 60 groups and federations all over the country. This publishes a monthly journal, holds an annual congress, organizes courses and sells Esperanto books published here and abroad. There is hardly a large town in Great Britain, Germany and France without an Esperanto Club where members meet regularly, attend lectures, amateur performances, etc., and where visitors of any nationality are welcome and at once feel at home.

The achievements of Esperanto in the varied fields of cultural activity are numerous. There are regular Esperanto programmes broadcast daily in many countries and you can hear them from Vienna, Berne, Warsaw, Sofia, Montevideo, dealing with politics, economic and cultural problems, music, drama and so on. Many business firms use Esperanto for correspondence and publicity, especially at fairs. The British Post Office and the International Telegraphic Union recognize the language for telegraphy. One of the criticisms made by ignorant people is that Esperanto does not possess a literature of its own and so does not deserve to be studied. The facts are different. Apart from a continual supply of current literature in the Esperanto Bulletins, national and international, there is a substantial amount of original works, poetry and prose. Then there are translations from national languages, including some less known tongues, such as Estonian, Hungarian, Catalan, whose literatures are worth reading. The whole Bible, a masterpiece of literary power, Shakespeare and other classics exist in Esperanto. Dr. Zamenhof himself was an excellent translator, and we owe him translations of the works of Gogol, Dickens, Goethe, Molière, Andersen and many more. Not only the number and variety of his works but the speed of his production spread the knowledge of the language more effectively than theoretical discussions alone.

A number of schools in Great Britain have introduced Esperanto into their curriculum with satisfactory results. Teachers have observed that it

not only acts as a stimulus to the learning of other languages but also leads to a more effective study of geography, and an active interest gained through correspondence, in the life of the peoples of other countries. In Scouting too the knowledge of Esperanto makes a great difference when the young people can make direct contact at their Jamborees through a common language. For many years it has been taught in adult classes under the L.C.C. and other local authorities throughout the country. The Royal Society of Arts examines in Esperanto. There is an Esperanto Lectureship at the University of Liverpool. Professor Collinson, who has taught it there, has declared "that Esperanto unites the practical facility of English, the elegant precision of French, the emotional richness of German, and the melodious beauty of Italian."

When Zamenhof died in December, 1917, he saw his fight had not been in vain, he had not been a Utopian crank as many people had predicted, his language had become a reality, and its suitability for international communication had been established. He was a modest, retiring man who never tried to be in the limelight. He never resented harsh criticism and tried to make peace among his supporters. Above all, he was willing to sacrifice everything for his ideals and his profound conviction that Esperanto was a means of drawing people closer together and exalting that universal brotherhood which seemed to him the only form of creed acceptable to all peoples and all churches.

To what is its success due? Chiefly to its facility as there are no exceptions to its rules; the pronunciation is simple as the spelling is phonetic. There is one gender, one article only. All verbs are conjugated alike. The vocabulary consists of 917 root-words, the majority drawn from Romance and German languages. The whole grammar is reduced to 16 rules. The parts of speech are formed from root-words by the addition of appropriate letters. There is very little syntax and the sole requirements for correct speech and writing are grammatical, phonetic and verbal accuracy, combined with commonsense. Therefore it can be learnt in a few weeks or months according to the ability of the student and the time devoted to it. It puts people of all nationalities on equal terms and so arouses no national jealousies. Esperanto does not intend to supplant national languages, as is so often objected, but it should become a second language in all schools, also the elementary, and only then it would be a really universal language.

Here is the Lord's Prayer in Esperanto:

*Patro nia, kiu estas en la ĉielo,  
Sankta estu via nomo,  
Farigu via volo, kiel en la ĉielo, tiel ankaŭ sur la tero,  
Nian panon ĉiutagan donu al ni hodiaŭ.  
Kaj pardonu al ni niajn ŝuldojn, kiel ankaŭ ni pardonis al niaj ŝuldantoj.  
Kaj ne konduku nin en tenton, sed liberigu nin de la malbono,  
Ĉar via estas la regno, la potenco, kaj la gloro, eterne. Amen.*

HELENA SACHS

## WHAT ARE THE ODDS?

THE Betting and Gaming Bill is at present in the House of Commons in the Standing Committee Stage, and is likely to be the subject of much controversy until it is passed or dropped altogether. Let us be quite fair; all sensible people are agreed that the law relating to betting and gaming is unsatisfactory and far from definite, but no two people seem to agree as to what should be done to remedy these defects. Therefore the Government should be congratulated on having made the positive proposals for the radical amendment of the existing law which are contained in the Betting and Gaming Bill, based on the report of the Royal Commission on Betting, Lotteries and Gaming, under the chairmanship of Sir Harry Willink.

To understand the position it is well to state that one form of betting today is certainly legal, whereas other forms are mainly illegal. Thus, credit betting, which is generally done on the telephone, is undoubtedly legal. Postal betting, which is often transmitted through an address in Scotland, is illegal. The "runner" who may be the factory runner or perhaps the milkman, and who operates in a place other than a public place, is probably contravening the law. Street betting is undoubtedly illegal. Then in parts of England, Scotland and Northern Ireland, there are betting offices. These may be tolerated but, strictly, they are illegal. And so there are five different channels through which betting may be conducted. The new Bill seeks to prohibit only one of those five channels: street betting.

Now street betting undoubtedly fills a great need (not using that term in an ethical sense). It is, however, a highly undesirable form of activity, and is prohibited by the Street Betting Act, 1906. The new Bill confirms that prohibition and increases the penalties for contravening the 1906 Act. But the new Bill appreciates the frailty of human nature and substitutes something positive to replace the necessity for street betting. This takes the form of establishing licensed betting offices, colloquially known as "betting shops" to which members of the public may go to place bets in cash. Licences may be granted to the holders of a bookmaker's permit or to the Racecourse Betting Control Board, or an agent for either or both of them. Betting with a bookmaker may take place in these betting offices on horse races or dog races, or on any other sport or event. There are very strict rules for licensed betting offices, and no person under 18 years of age may enter such an office. What do you say about it? Is it better to have in public view a betting office properly conducted than to submit to flagrant breaches of the law against street betting?

Before we pass from the subject of betting, let us consider briefly the position of the "runner". There is a well established practice by which bets are collected in factories and other places of work by bookmakers' agents. This practice is not, in general, unlawful at present, but if a factory runner—and this shows the complexity of the present situation—has a particular spot in a factory, to which other employees go to place bets with him, this will be "using a place" in the technical sense of the Betting Act,

1853, for resorting and for the collection of cash, and therefore contrary to that Act. On the other hand, an offence is not committed by a factory runner if he collects bets in cash in the course of moving around his place of work on his business. The Bill tries to resolve the subtle distinctions by providing that an offence is not committed by a factory runner collecting bets and later placing them in a "betting shop" after he has moved around the factory. So much for one of the most prominent provisions relating to betting.

Now let us turn to gaming, that is, the playing of games for stakes hazarded by the players. This is not in itself illegal. It is brought within the ambit of the criminal law by reason of the game itself being unlawful; or being carried on in a common gaming house, or in a public place. The statutes which declare certain games to be unlawful in themselves are almost apostolic in antiquity. They go back to the reign of Henry VIII, but seem to have gathered momentum in the eighteenth century. The result is that the card games of Ace of Hearts, Faro, Bassett, Hazard, Passage, Roulette, and any game of dice (except backgammon) are all unlawful games.

Under the common law, it is an offence to keep a gaming house, that is a house in which a large number of persons are invited habitually to congregate for the purpose of gaming. The present position is that anyone who habitually keeps or uses a place for the purpose of playing games in which there is an element of chance for money or money's worth runs a great risk of committing a penal offence. It is interesting to know that Bridge for money stakes at a club in London is, in fact, illegal, but Snap which is a game of skill is legal. How many people can lay their hand on their heart and say that they have never committed an offence against the gaming laws? But be of good cheer—all is not gloom. It is stated on the highest authority that Tiddly Winks is not illegal.

The Bill deals with gaming in a really robust manner. Enough of this nonsense, says the Bill in effect though not in words. It sweeps away all the existing law regarding gaming and creates a new basis on which to proceed. Thus, no game will be unlawful in itself. Gaming will be unlawful only if it breaks certain rules. The first rule is that either the game played must in itself be fair between one player and another, such as Whist or Bridge, or the game must be conducted in a fair manner. For example, if it is a game having a banker, all the players must have an equal opportunity of being banker. The second rule is that the money staked by the players during the course of gaming must all be paid to the winner, that is, there must be no "cut" on the stakes for the benefit of the organizer. The third rule provides that there should be no payment for the right to take part in gaming. There are, however, certain necessary modifications in the case of clubs. The Bill permits the making of a charge for the right to take part where gaming is carried on as an activity of a club, subject to the requirement that the payment is of a fixed sum of money determined before gaming begins. Furthermore, clubs will be permitted to charge for membership. Some of this may appear to be inessential, but actually it is very necessary; unless express provision of



this nature was made in the case of clubs, it would follow that there was a breach of the third rule which prohibits payment for the right to take part in gaming.

There are numerous other provisions in the Bill relating both to betting and gaming. The Bill is well worth careful study. If you think the existing law on these subjects should be amended, and you do not agree with the amendments proposed in the Bill, then say so. Once again it is submitted that the Government proposals—though novel in many respects—are highly worthy of public support.

MESTON

### THE CROWTHER REPORT

**P**ROSPERITY is persuading parents to keep their children longer at school. Sixth Forms are larger than they were a few years ago, and the Crowther Report considers that the tendency to stay at secondary modern schools after the age of 15 is increasing so steadily that most local authorities "ought to provide for nearly half the 15 year-olds to be in school by 1965, and some authorities will need to find places for more. To do less would be to deprive boys and girls, who could easily have been persuaded to stay on, of the chance of a real secondary education promised them in the 1944 Act." The fact that in the near future nearly a third of the pupils in secondary modern schools are likely to stay at school voluntarily for an extra year is a considerable achievement on the part of these schools. It is all the more remarkable in that the forecast is based on recent experience of a lengthening of school life in the face of great difficulties. These schools have often been hampered by old buildings and poor equipment, and staffing has, in many places, been inadequate and, on the average, has deteriorated during the last few years. "Extended courses," says the Report, "have been developed in spite of, not because of, the staffing position." Moreover, opportunities for staying on to take a beneficial course, suitable for that stage of development, are very unequal and, according to the Report, about 17 per cent of secondary modern school pupils cannot take such a course. If these boys and girls could enter a course whose advantages were apparent to them, the number staying at school until they were 16 would be greatly increased.

The benefits of full-time education up to this age are cogently presented by the Crowther Report and will be generally agreed. Apart from the advantages for the individual, it is in the national interest to improve the personal qualities and preparation for their future careers of as many young people as possible. We should all hope that soon staying at school up to the age of 16 would be normal. The current trend might lead one to suppose this would be the inevitable development. But the Crowther Report is not satisfied that it will happen quickly enough. It rightly stresses the importance of making the most of any latent abilities at a time when

able people are needed in many walks of life, and it correctly diagnoses a waste of talent in the resistance of manual workers to longer schooling for their children, many of whom will be able to profit from education after 15. It therefore proposes to accelerate the change of customs by compelling everybody to stay at school a year longer than they are obliged to do at present.

No doubt children have to be protected against the short-sightedness of their parents. But State intervention is justified only if the children are offered something more beneficial than the action of the parents would have produced. The State must also offer the same benefits to all—not necessarily the same education, but the same chance of securing education suited to “the age, aptitude and ability” of the individual. Clearly that is not being done at present even up to the age of 15—there are still over 120,000 children of secondary school age in all-age schools—and over the age of 15 opportunities vary greatly in different districts. The size of classes and the supply of properly qualified teachers are unsatisfactory in many schools by the Ministry of Education’s own standards. Much remains to be done to give all children the secondary education they have been promised in the 1944 Act up to the present school-leaving age; more to provide extended courses for all those who would voluntarily stay on at school if they could acquire the training they wanted by so doing. Is compulsion justified when satisfactory education cannot be guaranteed for all? Even if it could be provided, there might be a minority that would gain more by going out into the world. A reservation by some members of the Advisory Council to paragraph 200 of the Crowther Report recognizes that this minority would be better released than forced to remain in an uncongenial environment. This, however, could be a problem whatever the period of compulsory schooling. It is the possibility open to everybody who can profit from it that is important. If the Government could offer an education generally accepted as satisfactory by informed opinion to all boys and girls between 15 and 16, it would be justified in applying compulsion and dealing with the minority unable to profit by such an education as a special case in which the statutory requirements might be waived. That condition is far from being fulfilled at present. The Crowther Report believes it might be fulfilled by 1965. In this it seems unduly optimistic.

One reason for the lack of extended courses in some areas is the smallness of the secondary modern schools, a defect difficult to overcome in rural areas. To adjust the position in other areas new building will be required, and the same applies to the elimination of all-age schools. The building programme is going on all the time but has not yet caught up with the present trend towards longer schooling. It would have to be greatly expanded to prepare for further demands in 1956. But buildings and viable school units are by no means the most important factors. There is already a shortage of teachers of certain subjects and in certain places. The total number of teachers now is below that necessary to give the majority of pupils the individual attention they should have. It has been official policy for a considerable time to reduce the maximum number of children in a secondary school class to 30. This would mean a teacher-

pupil ratio of one to 19, which "would still leave far too many large classes, though it would mark a substantial improvement on the present state of affairs." Surely this is not good enough. Even so, it would mean recruiting at least 150,000 more teachers. The possibility of achieving this is based by the Advisory Council on the expansion of Sixth Forms, but the probable effect of that is not yet clear. If the supply of teachers were to improve there might be a case for embarking on this new venture into further education. To commit oneself to it before there is assurance of sufficient teachers is to take an unwarranted gamble. A better supply of teachers—and improvement in quality and fitness for the work waiting to be done are as important as numbers—would only make good the deficiencies in what is being attempted now. Until those deficiencies are well on the way to being remedied, it is unwise to take on further commitments. The first priority must surely be smaller classes, better teachers and better schools for all pupils up to the age of 15. After that there is plenty to be done to provide satisfactory opportunities for all who can elect to stay on at school voluntarily after the age of 15. When these requirements have been met, and not until then, a lengthening of the period of compulsory schooling may be discussed. Compulsion imposes an obligation on the State as well as on the citizen. The public must be satisfied the State can provide a satisfactory education for the young people before it allows the State to direct them to institutions.

Much the same objections apply to the Report's recommendations on County Colleges. They are desirable in themselves, provided satisfactory programmes can be worked out for them and provided suitable teachers for them can be found. Whether these conditions can be satisfied in the near future is extremely doubtful. These colleges would require a new approach, and there are no signs of the right kinds of teachers, who alone could make them a reality. To put into this development the effort that would be needed to get them going might only distract attention and able people from the other educational tasks so urgently demanding resources. The rather vague principles enunciated by the Crowther Report are insufficient foundation for a curriculum, and the experience and training to be sought in selecting teachers has hardly been thought about. Some hard thinking will have to be done before the aspiration to do something for further education among young workers can be translated into activities in which the young people themselves will engage under tactful and expert guidance.

Looking ahead in education is commendable. Stubbornly pressing on with commitments entered into 16 years ago is less commendable. The Crowther Report urges that the 1944 Act should be fully carried out. Whether the situation has changed since 1944, or whether new ideas have emerged since then, it does not seriously take into account. It sees the position in terms of chances to implement the promises of the past. It does not ask how successful is the part of the 1944 Act that is already in operation. If it did, it would give first priority to doing well what is being attempted now. New opportunities should certainly be opened wherever possible; future needs should be anticipated. But existing respon-

sibilities should take precedence. There is no case for more compulsion by the State until the State is able to guarantee a satisfactory education to everybody at present subject to compulsion.

BRUCE PATTISON

## SCHOOL INTEGRATION IN AMERICA'S SOUTHERN STATES

A BRITISH visitor to the southern states of the United States is quickly aware of a certain barrier of silence amongst his friends when he begins to ask questions about the process of integrating the schools which has now been proceeding since the Supreme Court's famous decision of May 17, 1954, which declared school segregation unconstitutional. I met the barrier in Baltimore where an unusually well-informed and liberally-minded clergyman told me that he had never heard of the monthly publication called *Southern School News* which, under the auspices of the Ford Foundation, gives regular factual and objective news of the march, or otherwise, of integration. I could see that, although in Maryland the battle for integration in principle is in fact won, the subject was a bit too tender to touch on. Farther south in North Carolina in a small semi-rural town I discovered that for all practical purposes integration was unknown. I was told how happy the local Negroes were with their new swimming pool which the whites had generously subscribed to. If anyone of the families on the other side of the railroad tracks should wish to send a child to a white school then surely the matter would be considered. But not yet. In fact the six years of integration leave the 17 southern states of the U.S.A. in a very mixed condition. It is impossible to present what is erroneously called "an over-all picture" because the states are different. In Washington, D.C., 30,000 white children and 86,000 black appear to be going to school together quite happily, and in such states as Alabama and Georgia the tables of analysis show the figure "nought" marked up in almost every column of the integration student's book.

According to the *Southern School News*, which made a survey in the autumn of 1959, out of the 7,781 school districts in the 17 southern states, 2,880 districts are bi-racial and of these 762 have started or completed segregation. This means that 2,118 school districts in the south are still firmly segregated. These new figures place 2,486,988 white pupils and 518,357 Negro pupils in desegregated situations. But that does not mean that all the Negroes are going to school with the white children in those areas. About 211,000 children are doing so, and half of these are in the District of Columbia and Maryland, areas which might be considered easy ground for integration. When the total school enrolment in the whole region of 17 states is reckoned at 13 millions, ten million white and three million

Negro children, the problem of integration falls into its true perspective.

The states have varied in their attitudes towards the Supreme Court decision. Virginia's "massive resistance" policy broke down in 1958, and that was a signal to the whole South that resistance of all kinds, constitutional and legal, would finally have to bow to the authority of the Supreme Court ruling. But in such "deep south" states as Mississippi and Louisiana massive resistance against integration continues, with the result that more money is poured into Negro education than ever before in an attempt to give separate and equal provision to both black and white. But even in Louisiana the sight of 417 Negro college students entering the Louisiana State University with 1,603 white students is a sign that integration will have to be faced even in the deepest of the deep south.

A close-up picture of an area of Virginia offers some guidance to the developing pattern of the merging of black and white children in the same schools. There are now 86 Negro children sitting alongside white children in the State which announced its unyielding opposition to the Supreme Court decision, and there have been no reports of violence or other significant incidents. The number of integrated schools is 16. County by county and school district by school district Virginia has resisted integration and Warren County with a population of 14,200 whites and 1,200 Negroes offers an example of what happens as a result of parental and community action. When the Warren High School was ordered to admit Negroes the school shut down and 800 of the pupils began to attend a private school quickly set up by the Warren County Educational Foundation. When Virginia's "massive resistance" policy broke down the Warren High School re-opened and 21 Negroes reported, but the whites continued their private schooling. In fact the Negroes had the High School to themselves. In the fall of 1959 the High School again opened its doors and 20 Negroes turned up with 417 whites with a slightly larger number of whites choosing still to go to the private foundation school at 220 dollars a year for each pupil. The principal of the all-white school warned his pupils against friction or unpleasantness with the public school pupils. In Norfolk County 22 Negroes attend seven schools with about 11,000 whites. In Arlington County 23 Negroes attend three schools with about 4,000 whites, and the chief trouble appears to have been whether the integrated schools should run integrated dances. In order to get round the possibility of this happening the School Board voted, four to one, to allow the school to be rented at six dollars a night to "responsible adult groups sponsoring non-integrated social events." The man who cast the lone vote against the plan described it as a "subterfuge, pure and simple".

In the country areas of Virginia from which these examples are taken the number of Negroes in the population is small. In Arlington County, for instance, it is 152,600 whites to 8,300 Negroes. But in another Virginian county, Prince Edward, the story of integration is very different. There the population is more evenly balanced with 8,600 whites and 6,500 Negroes, and the answer of the local school board to the command to integrate has been to abandon the public school system altogether. The Prince Edward School Foundation began to operate on September 1, 1959, what

the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* called a "unique experiment in American education". There were no schools to go to except those operated privately on a racial basis for 1,500 white pupils, and consequently the 1,700 Negro children had no school at all. To provide some education for Negro children 50 of them were enrolled in a school supported by the African Methodist Episcopal Church and others by a County Christian Association, a Negro group which is collecting money to help Negro children. The white Prince Edward School Foundation has collected 300,000 dollars for its school, and declares that it can go on running its private school indefinitely. The classes of the school are conducted in 16 separate buildings, most of which belong to the local churches with a staff of 66 teachers. The use of church buildings for this private venture is a significant pointer to the dilemma that churches in the south find themselves in. While officially their representative assemblies go on record in support of integration and the Supreme Court ruling, the local white churches can rarely bring themselves to support local integration. The clergy who show themselves in favour are soon reminded that the attitude of the majority of their white congregations is not moving in that direction. In Prince Edward County the churches have in effect condoned the abandonment of the public school system, once the glory of any local American community, and their action is bound to drive further wedges between the differing sections of the community. It is one of the most disturbing outcomes of the Supreme Court decision. In Washington Mr. Arthur S. Fleming, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, said that the action in Prince Edward County meant that "public schools have been padlocked by county officials who have by this action repudiated our tradition of providing free education for all." It has also meant that the 70 Negro teachers in the county are without jobs.

In some of the great southern cities such as Nashville integration is proceeding by the "stairstep" method beginning with the youngest grades of the schools. In Nashville there are 41 Negro children enrolled in nine elementary schools with white children in the first three school grades. It is estimated however that about 325 Negro children were eligible to attend, but a hundred at least still chose Negro schools. Under the Nashville plan one grade a year will be integrated, but always with an option on the part of parents to have their children transferred to an all-white or an all-black school if their race happens to be in a minority in their local school.

The Supreme Court has urged a modicum of speed on the southern states in their school integration. Time is passing. It is now six years since the historic decision of May, 1954. It is this pressure, coupled with the activities of the Association for the Advancement of Coloured Peoples, that irritates the southern whites whenever they think about the educational future of the 17 states. Left to themselves the south says it would in time solve the problem. Even a visiting investigator may ask leave to doubt the south's constitutional intentions at this point.

CECIL NORTHOTT



## BASQUES IN AMERICA

**C**OMPARATIVELY few people know anything about the fifty thousand Basques among us in America. This unawareness of an interesting, picturesque and mysterious people who trace their ancestry to the stone age is due to the fact that Basques keep off the front page of newspapers. Minding their own business, they are industrious and closeknit, living in an area that embraces southern Idaho, western Oregon and northern Nevada. They came from the valleys of the Pyrenees, whose inaccessibility enabled the Basques, around the inner section of the Bay of Biscay, to retain their original identity. Ethnologists believe them to be the oldest homogeneous group in Europe. With a population under a million, two-thirds live in the four Spanish provinces of Guipuzcoa, Alava, Navarra and Vizcaya. The remainder inhabit the three former provinces of Labourd, Basse Navarre and Soule, ceded to France by the Treaty of the Pyrenees which established them as the boundary between the two nations. Clinging tenaciously as they do to ancient customs, Basco, not Spanish, is the language, in which few foreigners have become fluent and none has mastered all the dialects. In the days when the Basques had autonomy smuggling was unnecessary. Today, on both sides of the frontier, they delight in fooling French and Spanish officials.

More than a hundred thousand Basques migrated to South America, whence many of them made their way north to California and up to the Jordan Valley. News of their prosperity in the American northwest brought many direct from Spain. With the institution of quotas, immigration was practically cut off. Recently the United States passed special laws admitting shepherds, most of whom are Basques. A newly arrived Basque is easily distinguished by his beret, the national headgear among males, cut large in France and smaller in Spain. Driving into Idaho on a dirt road east from Jordan Valley, we found an old Basque cemetery at Wagon Town, near Silver City. This suggests that the first Basques to come north to Idaho did so to work in the mines. When the mines closed they turned to herding sheep (many of them had been shepherds in Spain), chiefly because of the language problem. None could speak English and therefore could not follow trades in which some excelled. With a passionate thrift, the Basque shepherds soon had herds of their own. Others became artisans or went into business. Where once the hills around Jordan Valley were white with sheep, one now has to drive many miles to see them and talk with the herders. High in the hills, after passing numerous modern Basque farms, we thoroughly enjoyed our visit to the shepherds, who were happy to see strange faces. They insisted that we eat with them and the stew was delicious.

Basque herders carry their wine in a small bag made from goat skin with the hair inside, to preserve the wine. They do not drink it as from a water bottle. Instead, they tip back the head, squeeze the bag and squirt the wine into the mouth. They made coffee for us. After putting about two inches of water from a nearby mountain stream into the coffee pot,

the herder poured in coffee and let it simmer. Then he filled the pot with water. We expected coffee that would make the spoon stand upright in the cup; it was delightful. Tales are beyond number of sheep herders who became peculiar if not completely mentally deranged, but the Basque is ideally suited to this lonely life, enjoying the scenic grandeur and thinking out his problems and dreams. Until recent years he followed the flock on foot with his dog. Through a Government regulation there are now two shepherds with every flock, and they usually have horses as well as their dogs. The Basque's understanding of sheep cannot be gained from books. It is a sense partly inherited but mostly gained from keen observation since childhood. He knows when a lamb is sick and how to care for it. Restlessness of the sheep tells him a prowling predator is nearby, and he usually manages to shoot the bobcat or coyote before one of the flock is lost. With a wary eye for eagles and hawks that would pounce on a stray lamb, he moves his flock into the high hills in the springtime and back to the base camp before winter. Some herders, after saving their earnings for years, returned to Spain with high hopes of marrying a beautiful Basquaise and buying a fine farm. Few remained there. Most of them had been captivated by the land of opportunity and returned to America.

We met American Basques in the many towns near the Oregon-Idaho boundary. They own hotels and restaurants and manage stores. An attendant at a service station in one of the towns said: "I guess you could say I am part Basque. My mother was unable to nurse me. So I had a Basque foster mother." There is a Basque social centre in Boise where anyone may enjoy refreshments or watch the young couples dance. The fall festival, after all the sheep have been brought down from the hills, is the big spectacle of the year, which draws all the young Basques from miles around. To know them, to eat with them and laugh with them, we like the little town of Jordan Valley on highway 95 in Oregon which is close to the Idaho boundary. The stores have Basque names and there are many buildings made with hand-hewn stone by Basques who brought that now lost art with them from Spain.

The most unusual sight in Jordan Valley is the high stone fronton (or court) for playing *pelota*, the fast and furious Basque game, and it is a pity that it is no longer played there. From a sickle-shaped basket strapped to the arm the ball is hurled by the player against the court's wall with a resounding crack. Caught by the opponent, the ball is returned like lightning. In the centuries since the Basques developed the game, it has spread to far places, including Miami, Florida, where it is called *jai alai*. One is fortunate if in Jordan Valley on Sunday to attend service at the beautiful St. Bernard's Catholic Church. Many of the older women are in the colourful costumes of the homeland, and almost all wear mantilla kerchiefs. Doctor Jones is the doctor of Jordan Valley. With the physique of a wrestler and active as a colt, he is 82 years of age and has spent the last 40 among the Basques. The jovial doctor drove us in his Jeep to the top of Sun Mountain where, from the 8,500 foot summit, we had a marvellous view of the entire area. He has seen a remote area linked to the main highway with a network of good roads, and he has witnessed a vast

community of strangers become an integrated part of America.

Basques have retained their traditions with quiet pride. Visiting one of their homes is like being on a journey to Spain. Bric-à-brac, old world painting and statuettes adorn the walls, and the stuffed furniture is comfortable. Basque cooking is deliciously unique, especially the soups. Wine is on the table for all meals. Basques from the old land never touch tea or coffee, and the visitor who can drink wine instead of coffee with breakfast will make a very good impression. When discussing the lure of Jordan Valley, a prosperous Basque farmer told us about three youths, Blas Telerría, Galo Mendila and Antone Uranga, who set out for the valley from Spain in a fishing boat. Carried off course, they landed in South America, where one of them stayed ashore. In Mexico the remaining two obtained a mule and rode it to the United States border. While getting across the border on foot they became separated and one went on alone to the northwest, becoming a sheep herder around Boise. Several years later the three met again. All of them were herding sheep in the Jordan Valley.

The outstanding quality of the Basque is his thrift. Remembering how, in the old country, a little money had to go a long way, in America he has progressed from shepherd to rancher and businessman. That trait has been passed on to the children, who are more interested in an education and success than frivolity. The Basque is honest and will walk ten miles to pay a debt. But, coming from a nation within a nation, where all government men were suspect, his mind is in blinkers when making payments to the Government. He does pay, of course, for he is a highly respected citizen. Until recent years Basques kept pretty much to themselves, even in marriage. Today the young frequently marry outside their national circle. Basque custom requires that the bride and groom give a dance for everyone if they are caught when slipping away from the reception. It is always a gala affair and, if it happens on one of their festival days, Basques attend in native costume and dance the *jota*, the "dance of the young hearts", to music of accordians and guitars. Quiet and unassuming, the Basque does not follow the all-out American custom in greeting strangers. He is reticent and the stranger must be careful how he treads. Convinced that you are not just a curiosity seeker, but sincerely interested in him and his welfare, you will become one of the Basque family and enjoy the pleasure of being carried in song and dance back to the High Pyrenees in Spain.

T. H. INKSTER

Seattle, U.S.A.

## HERRINGS

THE problem which the herring's refusal to frequent the old feeding grounds has been setting fishermen and scientists in recent years is not new. During the past thousand years it has rendered great stretches of Europe's coastline prosperous by its presence and ruined them by its inexplicable migrations. There is a lot of truth in the old East Coast couplet:

Herring and Ling, Herring and Ling,  
Of all fish in the sea, Herring is King.

It used to be called "king of the sea" in parts of Norfolk, and the eminent French naturalist, the Comte de Lacepede, renowned for his writings on oceanic life, declared a century and a half or so ago that "the Herring decides the destinies of empires". Perhaps this statement must not be taken too literally, but in the Middle Ages the herring shoals of Northern Europe laid the foundations of the wealth of the Hanseatic ports. Then, by some mysterious urge, the fish were constrained to leave their Baltic haunts. They made for the North Sea, a movement which greatly benefited the fishing ports along the East Coast, and also on the shores of the Low Countries, but which caused much distress on the coasts the fish had abandoned. It led also to a drift of the German tribes away from the Baltic. A few years back Sir Edward Denison Ross told how the Mongols caused a herring glut in this country. Yarmouth was exporting the fish centuries back, and Matthew Paris, writing at St. Albans, recorded that in 1238, for fear of the Mongols, whose armed bands—despatched by the Genghiz Khan and Sabutai—were ravaging vast areas of the Old World, the fishermen of Northern Europe and particularly those of Gotland and Friesland, did not dare to cross the North Sea to load their boats at the English port. Consequently herrings were so cheap that 40 or 50 were sold for a piece of silver, even in places far inland.

How far back the catching of herrings goes is not known, but they are said to be mentioned in a document of 709 A.D. incorporated in the chronicles of Evesham. On the eastern shores of Anglo-Saxon England the fish were recognized as sound currency, and many ecclesiastical landlords shrewdly drew their rentals in heads of herrings. The early records of the monastery at Barking speak of a tax levied on the fish known by the attractive name of "herring silver". Later the learned Icelandic historian, Sturlason Snorri (1179-1241), thinks the fish of sufficient importance to bring them into his pages. A thousand years ago Scotland possessed a thriving herring fishing industry. But political influences hampered the trade, for an embargo was laid on the export of herrings until the wants of the population had been satisfied. In retaliation numbers of Scottish fishermen left their native shores for those of Holland, and did exceedingly well there. The Dutch fishing likewise prospered and gained a European reputation. One, William Berkelzen (or Bickelsen), a Scotsman, is reputed to have made the epochal discovery of how to produce the "red" herring, in the year 1300. The embalmers of Egypt won renown for their

skill in embalming dead bodies; Berkelzen conferred a much more useful gift to mankind in showing how to preserve the herring. He also taught the Dutch how to cure herrings in pickle, and so flourishing was their fishing that the fleet in Shetland waters reached the huge total of 2,000 luggers and "busses". Their catches naturally brought much wealth to Holland, and it is often said that the foundations of Amsterdam were laid on herring bones. Lerwick, the capital of the Shetlands, also owes much of its prosperity to the herring. The Dutch fishermen were early there, and they began building trading booths on the harbour shores as long ago as 1600. Nearly 200 years earlier than this an engagement took place to which the herring gave its name, something in which, one imagines, the fish is unique. This was the action of Rouvray, known as the "Battle of the Herrings", fought during the Hundred Years' War. It took place in 1429 between the French and the Scots, and the English who, under Sir John Falstoffs, were conveying Lenten provisions, chiefly herrings, to the besiegers of Orleans.

For a long period the Dutch, who, however, took their greatest catches off our East Coast, were far more prosperous than the English fishermen, and Sir Walter Raleigh, among others, lamented the comparative neglect of the great fisheries so close at hand. Fishing associations were formed later and Parliamentary encouragement given. Yet the industry had its importance, and Michael Drayton in his *Polyolbion* (1613), a topographical description of England, full of antiquarian and historical details, so accurate as to make the work an authority on such matters, recorded it in these lines:

Whose fishing through the Realme, doth her so much renowe,  
Where those that with their nets still haunt the boundless lake,  
Here such a sumptuous feast of salted herrings make,  
As they had robb'd the sea of all his former store,  
And past that very howre, it could produce no more.

He was referring to the port of Yarmouth, the name of which is inextricably associated with herrings. Dickens referred to it in *David Copperfield*, when the youthful hero is taken by Peggotty to her home at Yarmouth. As they neared the town David made some rather qualified remarks on its surroundings: "But Peggotty said, with greater emphasis than usual, that we must take things as we found them, and that, for her part, she was proud to call herself a Yarmouth bloater."

Some interesting sidelights can be obtained on the Lowestoft fishery from a writer who called himself "E.S.", his book, of 1615, being entitled, "*Britaines Busse*, or a computation of a busse or herring-fishing ship as also the gaine and profite thereby." In it are carefully computed the cost of fitting out a 70-ton vessel, together with nets, arms, provisions and salt to the amount of £935 5s. 8d. In a four-month season the author estimated the investor could more than recover his initial outlay, and credits the business with producing £75 a year on a £100 investment. Most interesting is his account of the men's daily ration of "a gallon of Beere, a pound of Bisket, a half-pint of Oatmeal or Peaze, a quarter-pound of butter (to butter their fish or otherwise to eat as they liked), half-pound of Holland

Cheese, and besides this they may daily take out of the Sea as much fresh fish as they can eat." Also they were allowed 2 lbs of bacon a week. The wages were apportioned thus: for the master, £5 a month; for the mates, 24s. each; for the seamen, 20s. each; and cabin boy, 6s.

Mention of biscuits reminds one of the Gorleston boys who used to sing running along the quayside when the Yarmouth smacks were going down-river to sea. Until the crews threw them biscuits they repeated this rhyme:

Herring Galore,  
Pray Master?  
Gay Master,  
Luff the little herring boat ashore—  
Pray God send you eight or nine last—  
Fair gains all,  
Good weather,  
Good weather—  
All herrings—no dogs;  
Sing up—Fair Gains all!

The "last" is an old measure of 10,000 fish, and Shakespeare punned on "the cade" of herrings which meant five hundred. Undoubtedly these measures originated many centuries ago. Twenty-five make a "glen" and 15 glens a "rees". Four herring are a "warp", and apparently this comes from the Anglo-Saxon *a-worpan*, to throw out, from the habit of the count. Two fish were thrown out in each hand:

Four herrings make a warp,  
Thirty-three warps make a hundred,

actually a "long" hundred of 132 fish. These days herrings are generally handled by the cran, except in the Isle of Man, where measure is the "maze".

For long the bitterest rivalry existed between the two great herring ports of Yarmouth and Lowestoft. The shoals are at their best in autumn when they pass close by, and Parliament, jealous of the thriving ports of the Low Countries, endeavoured to encourage the home fishing by granting Yarmouth the privilege of a Free Herring Fair. This did not suit the merchants and fishermen of Lowestoft, especially when their rivals proceeded to claim the monopoly of the trade. Assisted by various Acts of Parliament and by the Statute of Free Fair, Yarmouth's eminence increased and it became a great *entrepôt* of the trade, as the chronicler put it: "Yarmouthe became ye restore of a great store of sea-fairinge men, as also of great numbers of the fishermen of France, Flanders, and of Holland, Zealande, and of all the Lowe Countries from the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel, until the Feast of St. Martin, aboute the takinge, sellinge, and buyinge of herrings." Thomas Nash, the poet and satirist, was a native of Lowestoft, but retired to Yarmouth, and his last work, "Lenten Stufte" (1599), is a burlesque panegyric on that port and its red herrings. He said: "The fishery is a great nursery of seamen, and brings more ships to Yarmouth than assembled at Troy to bring back Helen."

E. R. YARHAM

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## TRANSMUTATIONS

*Thinkest thyself a small thing when in thee is enfolded the universe? — Islamic*

Tunnel the dim ancestral mind, beneath  
 The débris of the customary thought,  
 Touch the cold, ancient stone, which upward strives  
 To lie among the lilies, lily-clad.  
 Learn the deep longing of the roses' heart  
 To leap as mountain goat, from crag to crag,  
 Caress the gentle beast, dreaming a heaven  
 Of heavens, in which he plays a human part,  
 Know thy long kinship with the universe,  
 Husband thy heritage, immortal soul.  
 And now thou art to human kingdom grown  
 Flash to the finer upper air, and feel  
 The levitation of the physical flesh  
 Half-in, half-out, of heaven. Spirit poised.  
 Glimpse the bright glory of the new gold worlds.  
 Behind the brow, behind the unconscious lid  
 A multi-planetary soul is hid.

ELSIE P. CRANMER

## QUESTIONS

Here in the lamplight  
 I linger having turned to go,  
 As your deep-delved eyes  
 Compel me not to go but stay.

I turn to go—and  
 Turn into your eyes and softly  
 Kiss your sight away.  
 You quiver at my kiss, you know.

Yet who knows now what  
 Promise lit your eyes, who knows how  
 Love is? Who knows why  
 I turn to go and do not so.

ROBERT BRUCE

## LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

## THE IDEAL PUBLISHER

Sir Stanley Unwin was born to be a publisher as some men are born to be musicians or missionaries. His memoirs tell the happy story of a man whose profession is also a vocation, who has seen much of the world and of mankind and retains in old age the freshness and idealism of youth. He loves books and in many cases loves their authors. Publishing, he admits, especially when chiefly concerned with new ideas, is not always a bed of roses. There are sometimes financial anxieties, threats of legal proceedings, miscalculations of the public taste, friction with writers, broken promises, dissensions with partners, not to

speak of world wars and the censorship and paper rationing they bring in their train. A corner of the veil was lifted in the best seller *The Truth about Publishing*, and now the curtain rises on a crowded and glittering stage. Here is a dynamic and attractive personality, who appreciates nobility of soul no less than literary genius, and has never cultivated the vendettas all too common in literary circles. For those who, like myself, have lived through the thrilling decades covered in these pages and have known scores of the celebrities who cross the stage the book is a feast.

Coming from a wholesome Free Church and liberal stock, Stanley Unwin learned his trade in the office of his formidable uncle Fisher Unwin, whose full-length portrait forms one of the most striking features of the book. Unstinted homage is paid to his flair for literary talent but after a few years the yoke of an autocrat became too heavy to bear for a young man conscious of his abilities, who had studied in Germany, had travelled round the world and was longing to stand on his own legs. His hour struck when Ruskin's publisher George Allen went out of business, and the now world famous firm of George Allen and Unwin sprang into vigorous life in 1914. The growing pains of such a venture were complicated by the outbreak of the war; but even that catastrophe brought some little consolation in the shape of contacts with many of the leading journalists, publicists and sociologists of the time, with whom plans for the rebuilding of the world on sounder foundations were eagerly discussed. With his happy youthful memories of Germany he never joined the hysterical crowd which like Kipling classified human beings as men, women and Germans. The most widely travelled of British publishers, past and present, has seen too much of the world to forget Palmerston's declaration that England has no eternal friendships and no eternal enmities, only eternal interests, the greatest of which is peace.

The discovery of talent, for which the author has an exceptionally keen eye, makes an exciting story, and to many readers the most arresting pages describe the author's contacts with the great minds and the great spirits who act as torch-bearers to the advancing hosts. Here is Gilbert Murray: "His visits to the office were a joy and full of interest, lit up as they were by his wit and delightful sense of humour. Though the description may seem inappropriate to a Rationalist, he represented to me what a Christian ought to be. His intrinsic goodness, nobility of mind and indefatigability in the cause of peace were an inspiration to anybody who had anything to do with him." Here is President Masaryk: "I was immediately impressed by his personality—no one could fail to be. He was transparently good and obviously wise. One instinctively felt a delight to converse with him. With Benes one was conscious of a quick, subtle, clever mind. But it is unfair to compare anyone with Masaryk who was one of the greatest men of our time." The tribute to my old Cambridge friend Charlie Andrews gives me special pleasure, for that radiant figure was one of the joys of my life. "Many people call themselves Christians but few succeed in living up to Christ's teaching. Charlie Andrews was one of the few who came near to doing so. To be known as his friend was to have an entry into Indian hearts!" It was through Andrews that the author came into touch with Gandhi, another modern saint.

Even to mention the names of the continental authors for whom he was publishing, declares Sir Stanley, would form a catalogue; "but one man stands out, as he always did wherever he was, Frithiof Nansen. Not all men who have great personal courage, as Nansen had, are endowed with equally great moral courage." Harold Laski is described as a model author, and Laski described Sir Stanley as the best of publishers. Publishing for Laski was a real pleasure, testifies the latter: "I always enjoyed his visits and his stories, whether true or almost too good to be true." To publish for our leading philosopher Bertrand Russell was a shock to the partners, but the products of that majestic and widely ranging mind, above

all the *History of Western Philosophy* proved very much to the taste of the public over many years.

None of Sir Stanley's triumphs in nearly half a century has approached that of *Kontiki*, the sales of which exceeded a million. "Publishing," comments Sir Stanley, "has its compensations as well as its trials. In its various translations the book swept Europe. The appeal of the *Kon-Tiki Expedition* is universal. It is essentially an adult book, but children revel in it and those who prophesied that women would not like it were confounded." After sharing the company of these rare souls, it is distressing to read the pages on Lord Curzon, whose Indian speeches were published by the firm, and whose consummate abilities were marred by childish vanity and occasional pettiness of spirit almost pathological. A man with such a long and varied experience as the author cannot expect to escape a few disagreeable incidents but there are not very many in these sunny pages. In his unceasing travels as President of the International Publishers' Association and as one of the pillars of the British Council and in his business tours he has almost always met with smiling faces, for he is *persona grata* everywhere. His least agreeable encounter under foreign skies was when it formed part of his duty at a conference at Leipzig to shake hands with Goebbels shortly before the war.

Milton defined a good book as the precious life-blood of an immortal spirit, and Sir Stanley has been living in good company throughout his career. He describes his life as uniformly happy, and he has brought happiness to many of his contemporaries. The story concludes with a confession of faith which in its simplicity and sincerity embodies the best in our national character and tradition. "I accept the Christian view of the nature and predicament of man. As a Nonconformist and an old-fashioned Liberal, I believe in such temporarily outmoded things as tolerance and reverence—reverence for beauty in all its forms, reverence for the things that have made England what it is, such as liberty, justice and law. I believe, with members of the Society of Friends, that there is an Inner Light which is available for the help and guidance of those who seek it. I believe that we are all born in varying degree with a creative instinct the exercise of which is essential to our well being." This belief accords with Karel Capek's prescription for a happy life "to do what we have to, out of love for the thing."

G. P. GOOCH

*The Truth About a Publisher.* By Sir Stanley Unwin. George Allen and Unwin. 25s.

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Also quoted (page 158) from Sir Stanley Unwin's book, without the knowledge or permission of Dr. G. P. Gooch, C.H., the Editor of *The Contemporary Review*: "I cannot let the name of G. P. Gooch pass without recording the quite astonishing amount of encouragement I received from him. He went out of his way to show appreciation of what I was trying to do, and on one occasion when Arthur Henderson was Foreign Secretary and we three happened to meet at a reception given by Ramsay MacDonald at 10 Downing Street he told Henderson that few people had done so much for the League of Nations and the cause of peace which he had so much at heart as I had done. Lowes Dickinson once commented upon Gooch's incredible learning. It is only exceeded by his modesty and generosity. I owe him much more than he could ever realize."

G.B.

#### THE L.S.E. SAGA

As an institution the London School of Economics and Political Science is unique. It signifies more than a university college; it is different in kind, too, from the *École Libre*, though they also have something in common. Founded in 1895 and having become a School of the University of London in 1900 after the recon-

struction measures of the late nineties, the L.S.E. is now in its 60th year. These two trim volumes comprise the first 42 years. Even as a young man, William Beveridge had a truly wonderful talent for marshalling words with extraordinary rapidity. Today, he writes, as always, in a style which betokens complete mastery of his theme. It is fitting that this book should appear in the jubilee year of the opening of the Asquith Administration's labour exchanges, of which he was the principal architect. Lady Beveridge's study, too, has a pleasing succinctness, and the vibrancy of her personality is there. The Beveridges devoted the middle years of their lives to the London School of Economics. As Mrs. Jessie Mair, O.B.E., Janet, Lady Beveridge served as its Secretary from 1920 until 1933. Sir William, as he then was, was its fourth Director from 1919 until 1937, when he left London for Oxford as Master of University College and was succeeded by Sir Alexander Carr-Saunders. This phase includes the epic battle, already recorded in *Power and Influence*, for the Bloomsbury site of the metropolitan University. "Janet's" book concerns the first two decades, "William's", the twenties and thirties.

The London School of Economics was the child of Sidney Webb. It is the product of his ingenuity, administrative expertise, fortitude and sheer pluck. In all he was loyally aided, and, if need be, abetted, by Beatrice, who was, however, less patient in matters of detail. In a charming if bizarre passage Bertrand Russell has said of Beatrice: "She decided to sample the Fabians, especially the three most distinguished—Webb, Shaw and Graham Wallas. There was something like the Judgment of Paris, with the sexes reversed, and it was Sidney who emerged as the counterpart of Aphrodite." The School's indirect link with Fabianism, coupled with the career in a later generation of that scintillating teacher and polemicist, Harold Laski, has of course, made it more than mildly suspect to a certain type of right-winger. As to sorties by academicians into the political arena, there is, by the way, a warm tribute to Laski's readiness, despite other attractions, to stand by the Professional Council Resolutions of 1931-2, which form an Appendix. Among the School's enemies was Sir Ernest Graham-Little, M.P. for the University of London, a dedicated libertarian, a reactionary in some contexts and a revolutionary in others. The School has always sought variety in objectivity. There are even high Tory threads in L.S.E. life which persist to this day: witness Oakeshott. And an earlier Director, no mean scholar, could enroll as Joe Chamberlain's *aide-de-camp* in the struggle for Tariff "Reform" and an Imperial Zollverein. But L.S.E. Liberal (and non-party libertarian) elements have been almost as strong as the Socialists, even without a Left Book Club to support them. This needs saying. In the thirties, Beveridge combated the decision of the Webbs to delete the question mark from the title of later editions of their book, *Soviet Communism: a New Civilisation* (?). Later he urged that the title should be all question marks. Hailed as "the Bev that cheers," he became Liberal M.P. for Berwick-on-Tweed, a Liberal baron, adjutant to Lord Samuel and Lord Rea, and a party vice-president. In 1931, when Britain put back the fiscal clock to 1846, *Tariffs: the Case Examined*, a Beveridge-Robbins-Benham-Plant-Paish-Schwartz production, was essentially an L.S.E. symposium. Today at least eight L.S.E. or L.S.E.-educated Professors are among the leaders of a mid-twentieth century world Liberal philosophic school. A great London newspaper carries the authentic Schwartz brand of Manchester Liberalism every Sunday morning, and it was good the other day to find Mr. George Schwartz commending the course for an economics degree at the School to youthful Cambridge publicists and others as a cure for present-day inhibitions and anxieties over social status!

A characteristic kindness pervades these two books. The present writer, who was then a fresher, reading history under Eileen Power and, later, C. K. Webster, recalls an autumn evening in 1936, when Sir William, addressing freshers in the Founders' Room, asked them not to mind if ever he failed to recognize them in

the corridors. Apologizing in advance, he was, he said, absent-minded and notoriously self-preoccupied. This was indeed disarming. It was also typical. In the *Epic*, from the very first years, many famous names of Contemporary Review writers are well to the fore. In 1895, the Hon. George Peel is already lecturing at the School on French banking and currency. In October, 1898, W. A. S. Hewins, then Director, after announcing the capture of the higher commercial educational movement, reports to Sidney Webb, away in the Mediterranean, that the political science classes are at last successful, Lowes Dickinson boasting a class of 52, Francis Hirst of 20, and Graham Wallas of 44. He adds that Lettice Ilbert is engaged to H. A. L. Fisher of New College. In 1899 the School publishes the study of Local Variations of Wages with which the future Lord Pethick-Lawrence had won the Adam Smith prize at Cambridge. And young Herbert Samuel of Balliol joins the Administrative Committee of L.S.E. in the spring of 1897. In 1895, the very first year, the annual income of the School, afterwards nearly two-thirds of a million pounds, was no more than £2,500. These two volumes will attract and instruct a readership far beyond University and School. They form a distinctive contribution to history in general, to the history of education in particular, and to the manner of their making.

DERYCK ABEL

*The London School of Economics and Its Problems, 1919—1937.* By Lord Beveridge. Allen and Unwin. 21s.

*An Epic of Clare Market: Birth and Early Days of the London School of Economics.* By Janet Beveridge. Bell. 15s.

#### VARIETIES OF ELECTORAL PROCESS

This collection of studies of four General Elections has been sponsored by Nuffield College. The elections took place in 1957 in the Irish Republic and Poland, and in 1958 in France and South Africa; and the editor notes with justice that "it is hard to see that any other four elections would have served better to illustrate the varieties of the electoral process in 'advanced' countries in the middle of the twentieth century", since their electoral systems, political traditions and social and economic backgrounds fundamentally differ.

In France, though the new Government had come into being in quasi-revolutionary circumstances in a context of dissatisfaction with the imperfections of the former system, the election which followed was fought along the old lines by a vast number of parties, including anti-Mendès Radicals and anti-Poujade Poujadists. The new constitution of General de Gaulle had been adopted by nearly 80 per cent of the voters, and the question was what electoral system would, in the forthcoming election, take the place of the much criticized proportional representation which was now to be jettisoned. The single-member system, which was adopted, would not favour the Communists; but the general result of its operation seems to have been pretty fair, with de Gaulle himself acting to prevent gerrymandering in redistribution against candidates like Mendès-France. Though de Gaulle insisted that his name should not be used in party proclamations, candidates tried to establish their Gaullism by all sorts of devices, and the Gaullist UNR was in fact often "less crude" than other groups. Posters were much used, as were newspapers. And the ingenuity of personalities helps to make it all an interesting study.

The Irish Republic, proportional representation notwithstanding, returned Mr. de Valera with an overall majority; and, notes Dr. Basil Chubb, the voting system though complicated is not beyond the electors. The many counts usually needed to secure a result in the multiple-member constituencies can have the result that a candidate who polled relatively badly on the first count is elected in the end. The old issues chiefly over the split between de Valeraites and supporters of the 1921 Treaty—were seen to be almost dead, and none of permanent consequence have

replaced them. "It is a commonplace in Ireland that the present party divisions are anomalous, but the widespread belief that a reorientation is imminent ignores the contented, even apathetic, parochialism of most people," observes Dr. Chubb.

In South Africa, distribution markedly favoured the ruling National Party, which won almost double the number of seats gained by the United Party, although the ratio of votes which produced this result was not quite six-and-a-half to five. This the first all-white election, eliminated the only other group, Labour, which had had five seats in 1953. It may be that the attacks from outside on the South African Government's racial policy considerably favoured the National Party; Mr. Strijdom spoke of the "campaign being continually waged against us and the white people of Southern Rhodesia by the Labour press and even by some Conservative papers" and by the British Labour Party.

The Polish election of 1957, like that of 1952, was on a single list of candidates; but in other respects the difference was vast. There was no intimidation, and now the voter could choose between candidates; 717 candidates who had been approved by the Central Consultative Commission contested 459 seats. The background is complicated, but it is clear that, although the system of nomination was not democratic, candidates constituted in some measure a modest cross-section of opinion. The most significant thing about the election, writes Mr. Pelczynski, "is probably the fact that for the first time in history a Communist dictatorship experimented with a limited amount of democracy in a general election and triumphantly survived the experiment."

FLORENCE O'DONOGHUE

*Elections Abroad.* Edited by D. E. Butler. Macmillan. 25s.

### THE GEISHA WORLD

There are so many misconceptions concerning the word geisha that there is still room for another book on the subject. It is not commonly realized that the geisha is not a specifically Japanese phenomenon. India has her nautch-girl or *bayadere*, Tibet her *gyen-sang-ma*, China her *chi*, and Korea her *kisaeng*. Even in the American matriarchy, in so many ways the antithesis of the Asian world, the institution of the hostess who sells her charm and her entertaining ability without in any way committing her private life is arising, an institution very similar to that of the geisha. The word itself is composed of two ideograms meaning "a cultured person" and a geisha's training, which may begin when she is only eight or nine years old (although the law forbids public performance until she is 18), includes singing, dancing, music, poetry, the tea ceremony, flower arrangement, elocution, recitation, calligraphy, sociology and arithmetic, and nowadays English. She is no longer required to perform in three or four different musical styles equally skilfully; this is the age of the specialist and the chances are she will do only one of them really well.

There are now about 60,000 registered geisha whose monthly registration fee is about 25 shillings (60 years ago it was only four shillings), but of course the prostitutes who serve the Occupation forces frequently call themselves geisha. The geisha is never met in her own home and entry to an *o-chaya* or tea-house is only effected through an introduction from an important sponsor. An evening might easily cost well over £50, though some restaurants now provide "geisha dinners" at much lower prices employing talented waitresses for the purpose.

A.C. Scott, already well-known as an authority on Chinese and Japanese theatre, has written a good, popular guide to the world of the geisha. After a chapter on her forerunners in China and Japan, he goes on to describe the development of the geisha system, her training, her importance in keeping alive traditional and folk songs and dances, and her costume and etiquette, and points out that there were also male geisha, though only one now survives. Modern Japan was conceived in geisha houses of Tokyo and Kyoto, and in the succeeding and last chapters of this



fascinating book the author relates the stories of George Pierpont Morgan and Oyuki of Gion, of Okoi and Ichimura Uzaemon, Araiwa the wrestler and Prince Taro Katsura, and other famous geisha. He describes modern geisha life and puts in its proper perspective the current craze for the nude show. An odd mistake occurs on page 39: the ornamental sash worn with the kimono is of course an *obi* (but this is given correctly in the reference on page 106); otherwise *The Flower and Willow World* can be recommended as a reliable guide to this most attractive of all professions.

G. J. BONTOLT

*The flower and willow world.* By A. C. Scott. Heinemann. 30s.

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## MORE THAN GEOGRAPHY

MEXICO (*Macdonald*, 30s.). Just as the cherry blossom was withering, Erico Verissimo left Washington to make a roundabout journey to the other side of a thread of water which is the Rio Grande in the dry season. Once the coy apostrophe to "Master Shakespeare" is past, it is a lively, rewarding and well-illustrated account of "the rare, strange and different" that Lomas Barrett has translated from the Portuguese. The mystery and the poverty, the superstition and the wisdom, the beauty and the tragedy touch the author's heart and head, and the sense of history in the glories and cruelties of the Aztec civilization illumines his pages. Of all the years he needs to comprehend Mexico, it takes "no more than a minute to love it"—a good foundation for his and his readers' further understanding.

THE UNITED STATES TO 1865 AND THE UNITED STATES SINCE 1865 (*Mayflower Publishing Company*, 60s. each). The Professors of History at the City College of New York and Ohio University, Michael Kraus and Foster Rhea Dulles respectively, have produced these volumes in the University of Michigan History of the Modern World series. From Europe's discovery of an unknown land to the responsibility for peace which is the space-age's challenge to all-powerful America, the narrative is naturally (or more precisely unnaturally) divided into two by the Civil War. Confusion as to its causes and results, as indeed to the aims of the United States ever since, bedevils the studies written by and for outsiders; these halves therefore not only reassess for Americans, but help to clarify, against the background of subsequent events, for the rest of quarrelsome humanity. Many sketches admirably chart the course of incident, place and time, of military campaign or early route, of population, temperature, vegetation and so on. Yet one incorrigible querist in Britain feels the lack within the four covers of an honest-to-goodness map of modern America as a topographical prop.

THE BELGIAN CONGO (*Oxford Univer-*

sity Press, 5s.). Dr. Ruth Slade's slim book, the forerunner of a longer one now in preparation, records developments in the region since the war ended, and traces the external and inside causes. The old paternalism is gone, independence has been promised, and a Congolese nation is on the way.

THE ECONOMY OF ISRAEL (*Frank Cass*, 25s.). In an inspiring and critical account of the first ten years Alex Rubner shows the welding of "a socialist society in the Middle East." His situation as Adviser to the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Trade and Industry seems to have provided him with an economist's paradise, of controls and policies, of money markets and the cost of living, of foreign currencies and exchanges, of multiple rates and political democracy. The final chapter envisages the future of the National Home, and is cautious in prophecy about the issues of oil, sweet water, and relations with the neighbours.

APPLIED GEOGRAPHY (*Penguin Books*, 3s. 6d.). L. Dudley Stamp explains the meaning and scope of the term and presents chapter-long aspects of urban, industrial, and trade geography. Population, town-planning, climate, are discussed within the framework, and trends interpreted; and "photogeography" has an important place in a field where survey and analysis are applied to British problems. A word of extra praise should be given to the comprehensive excellence of the Index.

BRITAIN (*H.M. Stationery Office*, 25s.). This 1960 edition is the eleventh in the series of official handbooks prepared by the Central Office of Information. It revises the sections on the land and the people, on government and administration, on the sciences and the arts, and a dozen more, and adds a chapter on sport. The maps, diagrams and photographs are informative as ever, and the end papers flaunt most beguilingly an array of the wild flowers of these isles, 45 drawings in all.

GRACE BANYARD